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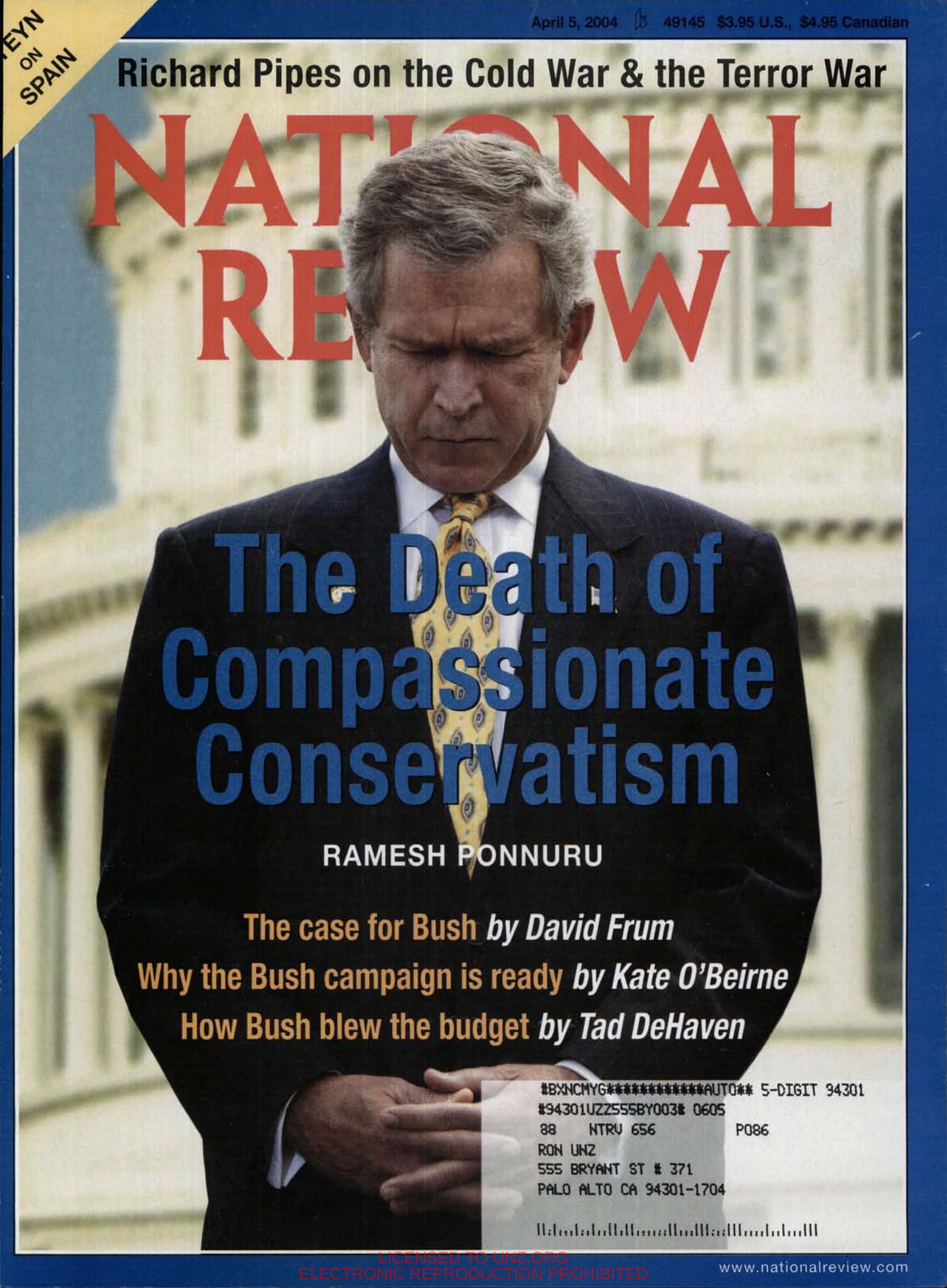
Richard Pipes on the Cold War & the Terror War

NATIONAL REVIEW



The Death of Compassionate Conservatism

RAMESH PONNURU

The case for Bush *by David Frum*

Why the Bush campaign is ready *by Kate O'Beirne*

How Bush blew the budget *by Tad DeHaven*

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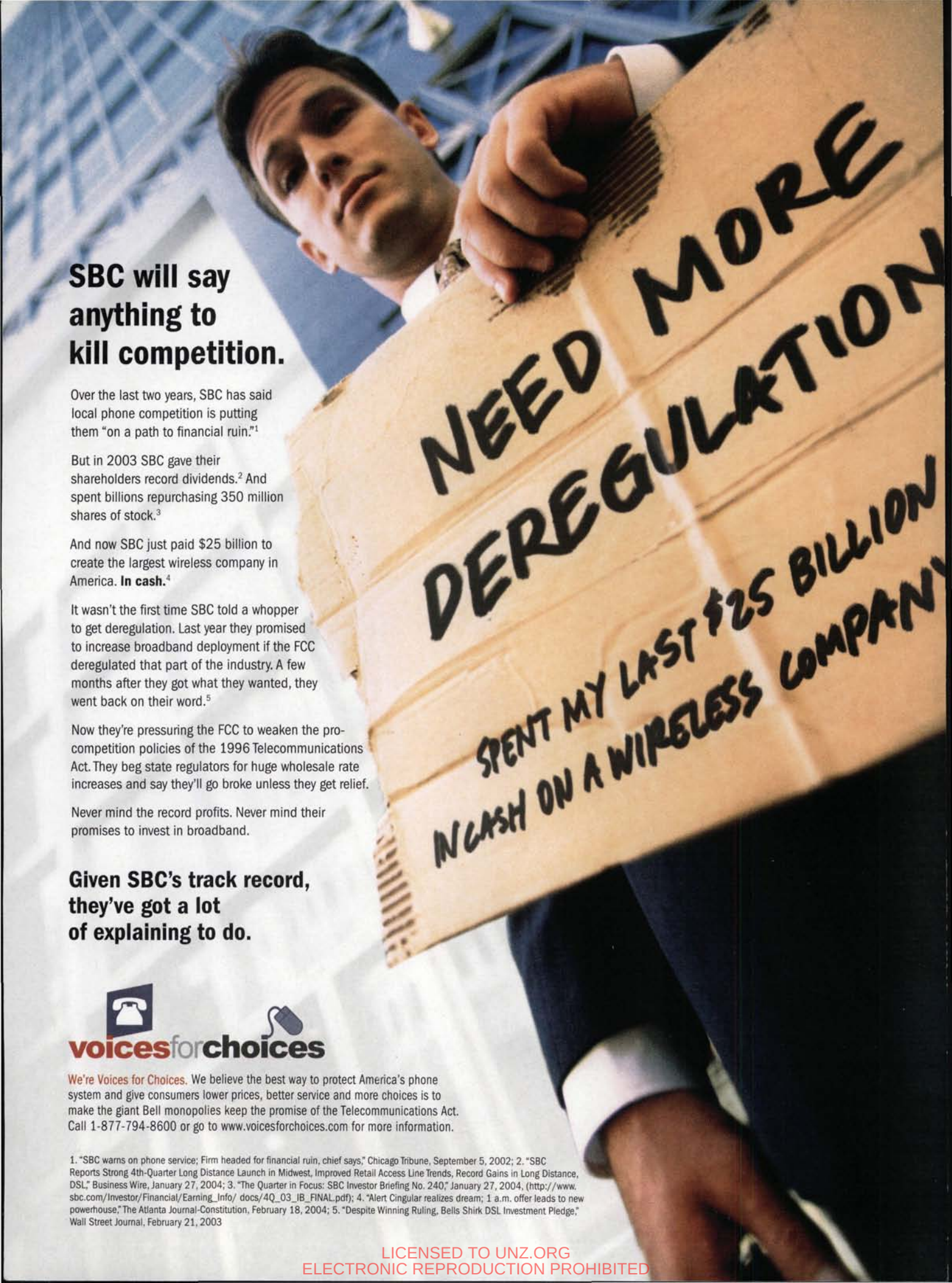

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1. "SBC warns on phone service; Firm headed for financial ruin, chief says," Chicago Tribune, September 5, 2002; 2. "SBC Reports Strong 4th-Quarter Long Distance Launch in Midwest, Improved Retail Access Line Trends, Record Gains in Long Distance, DSL," Business Wire, January 27, 2004; 3. "The Quarter in Focus: SBC Investor Briefing No. 240," January 27, 2004, (http://www.sbc.com/Investor/Financial/Earning_Info/ docs/4Q_03_IB_FINAL.pdf); 4. "Alert Cingular realizes dream; 1 a.m. offer leads to new powerhouse," The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, February 18, 2004; 5. "Despite Winning Ruling, Bells Shirk DSL Investment Pledge," Wall Street Journal, February 21, 2003

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APRIL 5, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 6

NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ COVER STORY

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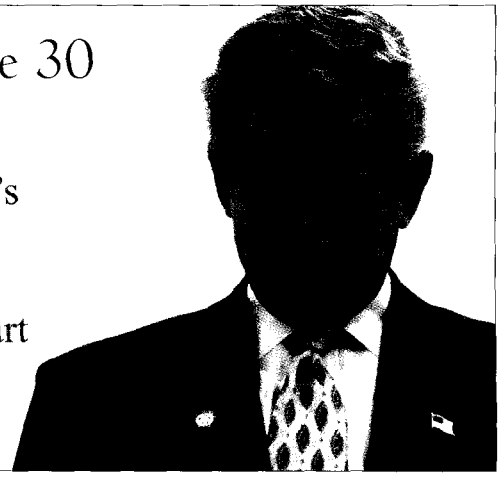
No More Mr. Nice Guy

The two most consistent themes of George W. Bush's first presidential campaign were associated with the catch-phrases "compassionate conservatism" and "changing the tone." As the president prepares to start his re-election campaign, it's fair to ask: What ever happened to this duo? *By Ramesh Ponnuru*



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letters to the editor

I'D RATHER QUIT THAN FIGHT

After 20 years of loyal readership, my wife and I finally decided to call it quits with the *New York Times*. This was right before I discovered Jay Nordlinger's article "Going *Times*less" in your March 22 issue, which confirmed for me that we did the right thing.

Canceling the subscription was easier than I'd expected. I was delighted when the clerk asked me why we were canceling. I told him that the *Times* cannot keep running its distortions day after day, assuming readers will swallow it all; eventually, they will reach a breaking point, as we did. I asked him to give my name and comments to the editor or anyone else upstairs who might care. Gee, that felt great!

Life without the *Times*? I think we will survive. In fact, I think we will be happier.

Eugene W. Muller
Montvale, N.J.

THREE DEAD

In "Sharon's Moves" (March 8), David Pryce-Jones gets one important fact wrong. He writes that the three Israeli soldiers whose corpses Israel received in exchange for the release of 436 Arab prisoners were abducted while Israeli forces were still occupying southern Lebanon. Not so. The soldiers were kidnapped by Hezbollah terrorists—driving U.N. vehicles, no less—some months after the U.N. had certified Israel's withdrawal from Lebanese territory. Although taken as hostages, they apparently died soon after the abduction; and the United Nations compounded the tragedy by denying the existence of, and then denying Israel access to, a videotape in its custody containing details of the event.

Samuel M. Salamon
Cleveland, Ohio

BLAME GAME

While on the whole I found Ramesh Ponnuru's review of *The Passion* in the March 8 issue interesting and stimulating, one of Mr. Ponnuru's comments is historically unfounded.

He writes: "Even some recent defenses of the Catholic Church have made it sound as though the idea that all of us, and not just 'the Jews,' are to blame was an innovation of the 1960s. Actually it was always the Church's teaching, although the Second Vatican Council may have revived and deepened it."

But this was not always the position of the Church. The earliest instance we can point to of the "we all killed Jesus claim" is that of Peter Abelard in the early 12th century, and it does not re-occur with any significance until Francis of Assisi in the 13th. Moreover, these two dissidents hardly spoke for the Church at large: Rome's position toward the Jews from Augustine to the Council of Trent varied considerably. Pope Gregory the Great, for example, made the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D., which was widely considered to be God's divine retribution against the Jews for their role in Christ's death, a proper liturgical celebration.

John D. Hosler
Newark, Del.

RAMESH PONNURU REPLIES: *John Hosler's view is closer to my own than it is to the conventional wisdom that the Church decided that all of us were guilty of killing the Christ in the 1960s. On his account, this teaching emerged no later than the Council of Trent in the 16th century. Perhaps Mr. Hosler will drop his remaining disagreement if I reformulate my point as follows: It has always been the teaching of the Catholic Church that Jesus Christ came to earth, suffered, and died to atone for all of our sins—not just the sins of the Jews. Logically and theologically, that teaching is incompatible with the idea that the Jews, alone, are to blame for His death. We should rejoice that the Church has, over time, come to a fuller understanding of the implications of that teaching for how we should think about the Crucifixion as a historical event.*

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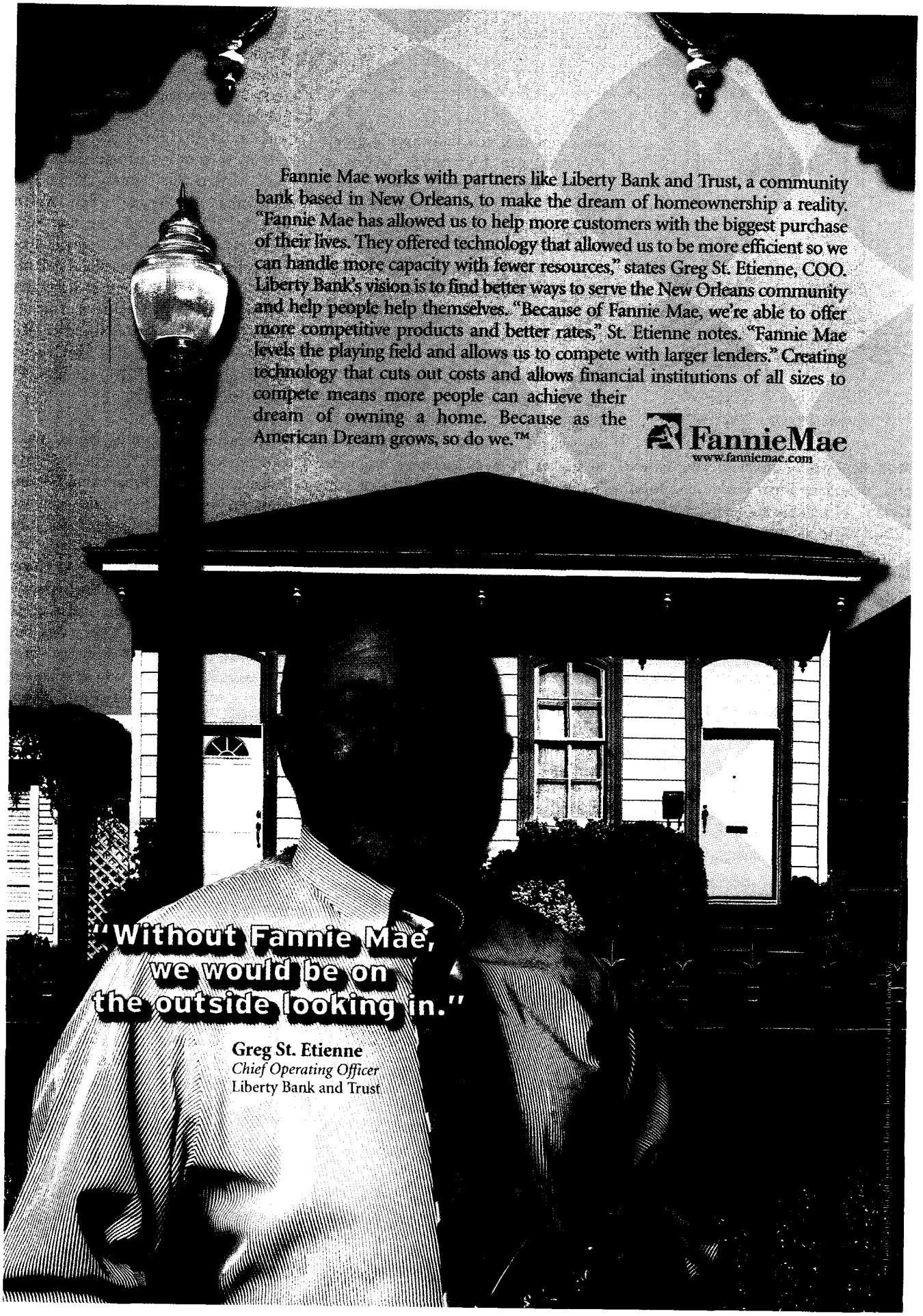

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for the record

"Yeah, but look on the bright side—chicks dig guys in uniform!"

■ In *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll, President **Bush** leads Sen. **John Kerry**, 47 percent to 45 percent. . . . Bush: "My opponent clearly has strong beliefs—they just don't last very long." . . . Bush on Kerry's 1995 proposal to slash intelligence spending: "His bill was so deeply irresponsible that he didn't have a single co-sponsor in the United States Senate. . . . Once again, Sen. Kerry is trying to have it both ways. He's for good intelligence, yet he was willing to gut the intelligence services. And that is no way to lead a nation in a time of war." . . . More Bush: "There are economic isolationists in our country who believe we should separate ourselves from the rest of the world by raising up barriers and closing off markets—they're wrong. . . . Given a level playing field, America will outperform the competition, and America will continue to be a world leader." . . . **Rudy Giuliani** on Bush's 9/11 ads, in New York *Daily News*: "It's a part of history. He did such a good job it would almost be false advertising not to include images of 9/11." . . . In CNN/*USA Today* poll, 65 percent of respondents say economy will be most important to them in supporting presidential candidate, and 26 percent say terrorism. . . . In Andres McKenna Research poll, 60 percent say "the terrorists would prefer" Kerry as president.

■ Kerry on Republicans, according to *Chicago Tribune*: "These guys are the most crooked, you know, lying group I've ever seen. It's scary." . . . House speaker **Denny Hastert**, in *New York Times*: "If he wants to describe me as being crooked and a liar, I think he will have his comeuppance coming." . . . Kerry: "I've met foreign leaders who can't go out and say this publicly, but boy, they look at you and say, 'You have got to win this; you have got to beat this guy; we need a new policy.'" . . . More Kerry: "**Clinton** was often known as the first black president, and I wouldn't be upset if I could earn the right to be the second." . . . Andrew Young National Center for Social Change responds: "[Kerry] is a privileged white man who has no idea what it is like to be a poor white in this country, let alone a black man." . . . In Zogby poll, Kerry leads Bush among Arab-American voters in Florida, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, 54 percent to 30 percent. . . . Democratic legislators consider legislation to prevent Gov. **Mitt Romney** (R., Mass.) from appointing GOP replacement to Senate if Kerry is elected president. . . . DNC plans major tribute to Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.) at national convention in Boston. . . . Gov. **Bill Richardson** (D., N.M.) says Kerry should choose **Dick Gephardt** as running mate: "He's the best candidate." . . . Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.) on whether he would run for veep on Democratic ticket, on ABC: "Obviously I would entertain it." . . . **Dennis Kucinich**, in *Columbus Dispatch*: "If I'm able to have a surprise in some other state, it's possible that the flame of the campaign could be rekindled."

■ Sen. **Ben Nighthorse Campbell** (R., Colo.) says he won't run for reelection, reversing earlier decision to seek another term. . . . Despite strong White House pressure, Gov. **Bill Owens** (R.) chooses not to enter race. . . . Colorado attorney general **Ken Salazar** (D.) announces for Senate. . . . Former Rep. **Tom Coburn** (R., Okla.) says he will run for seat of retiring senator **Don Nickles** (R.). . . . Rep. **Rodney Alexander** (D., La.) says he may switch parties, in New Orleans *Times-Picayune*: "I'm not particularly happy with the candidate of the Democratic party and I've already said that I won't endorse him and that I didn't think his views are consistent with my own or my congressional district." . . . Rep. **Pat Toomey** (R., Pa.) on his primary challenge to Sen. **Arlen Specter**: "Don't be so sure that Sen. Specter is a sure bet in the general election. A lot of Republicans won't pull his lever." . . . In Public Opinion Strategies poll of New Jersey voters, former Jersey City mayor **Bret Schundler** (R.) runs even with Gov. **Jim McGreevy** (D.) in prospective 2005 matchup, 41 percent to 41 percent.

■ "These alleged cures could make matters worse rather than better," says Federal Reserve chairman **Alan Greenspan** on protectionist trade policies. "They would do little to create jobs and if foreigners were to retaliate, we would surely lose jobs." . . . **Al Gore**: "Television induces a quasi-hypnotic state. The immune system that used to protect our democracy against big lies and faulty perceptions no longer protects us as it used to." . . . In EPIC/MRA poll, 49 percent support constitutional amendment defining marriage as union of man and woman, and 44 percent oppose. . . . In California, state Sen. **John Vasconcellos** (D.) proposes lowering voting age to 14. . . . Supreme Court chief justice **William Rehnquist**, on NBC: "At age 79, you can't help but think about retirement."

■ In North Korea, Radio Pyongyang broadcasts Kerry speeches and comments on them "in glowing terms," according to *Financial Times*. . . . Terrorist **Abu Abbas**, who planned *Achille Lauro* hijacking in 1985, dies of natural causes in Iraq, where he had been living under protection of **Saddam Hussein** since 1994. . . . New Haitian prime minister **Gerard Latortue** says elections may require two years of preparation.

■ You can say that again: Bill Clinton, in New York *Daily News*: "I think **Hillary**'s doing a good job [in the Senate], and one of us in politics is probably more than enough." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Bad news from Spain. John Kerry's constituency of foreign leaders is up by one.

■ 2004 has been a hard-hitting campaign so far, and rightly so. "I don't fault George Bush for doing too much in the War on Terror, as some do," John Kerry has said. "I believe that he's done too little. . . . He hasn't pursued a strategy to win the hearts and minds of people around the world, and win the war of ideas against the radical ideology of Osama bin Laden." That is a view on a most important question, and George W. Bush should take it on. But watch: Whenever Bush does so, he will be accused of being harsh. *Harsh* in the argot of journalists, citizens' watchdog groups, and other liberals means *Republicans are fighting back*. Besides being ludicrously biased, the tut-tutting over harshness infantilizes the electorate. We're big boys and girls; we can separate the wheat from the chaff. If not, let's send our apologies, and our submission, to Queen Elizabeth.

■ Congress approves defense budgets and declares war, the Senate ratifies treaties and confirms top diplomats and bureaucrats. But the day-to-day management of defense and foreign policy, war and peace, rests with the White House. Voters and historians judge presidents on their foreign-policy records; presidents running for re-election rightly boast of their achievements, while their opponents naturally try to criticize their shortcomings. When the Bush campaign unrolled its first ads, some of them showed footage of World Trade Center ruins, and firefighters carrying a flag-draped coffin. Democrats and left-wing relatives of 9/11 victims cried foul. But it would have been eccentric for a sitting president to ignore the most serious attack on American soil since Pearl Harbor. 9/11 was an attack on us all. Discussion of it should not be off limits just because it bothers the Kerry campaign.

■ "I've met with foreign leaders who can't go out and say this publicly," said Kerry at a recent fundraiser, "but, boy, they look at you and say, 'You've got to win this. You've got to beat this guy. We need a new policy.' Things like that." The flap over Kerry's comment became a flap over whether he would name names. "Were they people like Blair or were they people like the president of North Korea?" a heckler asked at a rally. Who cares? Since when does a would-be President of the United States seek endorsements abroad? John Kerry isn't running for President of the World. Let him heed his prospective constituents, their interests, and things like that.

■ PANDER GRIDLOCK ALERT: John Kerry, defending "gay rights" before a black audience, explained that when "Mr. King gets dragged behind a truck down [in] Texas by chains and his body is mutilated only because he's gay, I think that's a matter of rights in the United States of America." James Byrd was dragged behind a truck and murdered in Texas. Rodney King was beaten by police in Los Angeles. Neither man was gay. To avoid gridlock, M-W-F use Black Blvd., T-Th use Gay Drive. Sat-Sun, think, rest.

■ In our last issue, we reported that Orrin Hatch was considering a constitutional amendment that would protect the authority of state legislatures to make decisions concerning marriage. Some social conservatives—notably Sen. Rick Santorum and Christian leader James Dobson—have attacked the idea as too weak, and Hatch has shelved it for the time being. We fear that Santorum and company are letting the perfect be the enemy of the good. They say that it is necessary to have a national policy against same-sex marriage and not to let states go their own way. If they insist on this point, however, they may tie themselves to a constitutional amendment that cannot pass the Congress and the state legislatures. In that case, we will end up with a national policy all right: a national policy of same-sex marriage, brought to us by the judiciary. That is not the outcome Senator Santorum and Mr. Dobson seek, but it may be the one they help to create.

■ It would be nice if Congress got the federal budget under control. Too many congressmen seem to think that keeping control of *taxpayers'* budgets is an adequate substitute. The Senate has voted for a rule of procedure that would make it harder to enact tax cuts or to create new entitlement programs. We admire half of the intentions behind the rule. But if it goes into effect as currently proposed, it will make it extremely difficult to make Bush's tax cuts permanent. The deck will have been stacked in favor of a large tax increase when those tax cuts expire. Moreover, rules of this type have historically been ineffective in restraining federal spending. We should try something new. How about, for example, making Congress live by the budgets it passes? Every spring, Congress is supposed to pass a budget. As Congress goes about spending during the rest of the year, it mostly ignores this budget. Conservatives in the House think that should change. They say that if congressmen want to spend more money than the budget allows, they should first have to get a majority of Congress to vote for going over budget. That proposal may not shrink the government by itself, but at least it would allow for political accountability.

■ The phrase "Cheeseburger Bill" refers not to the 42nd

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Putting Assessments *to* Work *in the* Classroom

Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO, ETS

The public conversation about the quality of American education evolved and intensified over the past two decades, and now real reform is being achieved. Some may want to continue arguing about standards, accountability and testing, but the real battle is over. National public policy has been set. We will have standards. We will have accountability. And assessments are going to be an important element in the equation.

ETS is ready to join with teachers and school leaders in taking the next essential step, to put assessments to use where they matter most: in the classroom. We must make much better use of tests and test results so that we can determine who's learning, who's not, and how classroom practice and professional development can be adjusted to ensure that no student is, in fact, left behind.

Unlike tests that are used for high-stakes decisions such as whether a student graduates, classroom, or "interim," assessments measure what students are learning *during* the course of the school year.

Do they work? Absolutely. As San Francisco's Bay Area School Reform Collaborative found, effective use of data produced by assessments of student achievement is instrumental in narrowing the achievement gap among students of widely different backgrounds.

Schools that are successful in reducing the achievement gap use assessments more frequently, and are more likely to use the data produced by those assessments, than are less successful schools. This may not be a surprising finding, but it certainly is an important one.

Too often, teacher education students as well as practicing teachers are shortchanged when it comes to learning how to make effective use of assessments.

At ETS, we are hard at work creating tools to bridge this unfortunate and avoidable gap. For example, our Understanding Standards-Based Assessments (USBA) series of professional development workshops for teachers demonstrates how to monitor each student's level of achievement, and how to collect and organize the information and feedback necessary to help shape effective instruction.

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Educational Testing Service

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THE WEEK...

president, but to H.R. 339, a piece of legislation intended to prohibit obese people from suing fast-food franchises for their condition. Endorsing the bill, the White House issued a statement reading that "food manufacturers and sellers should not be held liable for injury because of a person's consumption of legal, unadulterated food and a person's weight gain or obesity." The bill passed the House 276-139, but its fate in the Senate, where the Trial Lawyers Party wields more power, is uncertain. America's health nannies as well are opposed to the measure, being keen to promote the idea that fast food is "the next tobacco," which is to say, the cause of a major public-health problem, a suitable case for endless regulation and litigation. One lawmaker, at any rate, was willing to speak up for the embattled cause of personal responsibility. James Sensenbrenner, the Wisconsin Republican who serves as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, observed, "This bill says, 'Don't run off and file a lawsuit if you are fat.' It says, 'Look in the mirror, because you're the one to blame.'"

■ The president's council on bioethics, led by Leon Kass, is taking heat from liberals and libertarians upset that it is allegedly stacked with supporters of the president's policies. They are complaining that it is getting more stacked, with opponents of those policies being kicked off the council and supporters being put on. In truth, the council is hardly in lockstep with the administration. Supporters of the president's policy were in the minority on the council when it considered the most controversial issue before it, human cloning. A majority of the council advocated a moratorium on cloning rather than the outright ban the president has sought. Seven of the 17 members of the council came out for research cloning. That is a lot more diversity than previous bioethics panels, such as the one established by President Clinton, have displayed. None of Kass's critics complained about those panels, and some of them served on them. In any case, the council has turned from the issue of cloning to other matters, such as the treatment of the aged. It is not at all clear what the new members of the council think about these issues; perhaps the critics should wait to find out before condemning them.

■ In the case of Martha Stewart, both justice and injustice have been done. A case can be made that the insider-trading laws, or at least the current expansive interpretations of them, which extend to people who have not violated any fiduciary obligations, should go. The law against making false statements to investigators may also be drawn too broadly, creating crimes even when the statements in question are unimportant. But the law is what it is, and a jury has concluded that Stewart has broken it. That judgment, in our judgment, deserves the respect of conservatives committed to both the free market and the rule of law.

■ Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger flexed political muscle in getting California voters to approve Propositions 57 and 58. These paired initiatives allow the state to borrow $15 billion to help close its budget shortfall, and impose new spending limits so that California will never—one hopes—fall into such a fiscal abyss again. Both trailed in the polls before Arnold barnstormed the state. But massive borrowing against a promise to behave better in the future is like going on a last bender the day before entering rehab. The spending limit is weak, and the pressure is off the legislature to face up to serious spending cuts now. Democrats hope Schwarzenegger's popularity will begin to wane and make it necessary for him to agree to a tax increase. In backing the bond initiative, Arnold chose the path of least resistance. If he really wanted to bring pressure on Democrats, instead of emphasizing "bipartisan cooperation" he would begin collecting signatures for an initiative to overturn the partisan gerrymander that assures Democrats of an unassailable majority in the legislature. That would be a real muscle-builder for California conservatives.

■ Think of her as the East Coast variant of that rare and fragrant California bloom *Johnus Walkerus Lindhus*. Susan Lindauer, graduate of Smith College, resident of a "nuclear-free zone" in Maryland, sometime liberal journalist, lover of peace, second cousin to Andrew Card, and former press aide to four Democratic members of Congress, has been charged with "acting as an unregistered agent for a foreign government"—that of Saddam Hussein—by having prohibited dealings with "representatives" of the dictator's intelligence service. Lindauer also discussed "the need for plans and foreign resources to support" the terrorist groups killing U.S. forces in Iraq with a Libyan spy, who turned out to be an undercover FBI agent. Lindauer, it is alleged, received about $10,000 for her services. Just as we are expected to sympathize with, or even laud, Americans who spied for the Soviets if they truly, deeply believed in Communism (odd, though, that we never hear the same about Americans who worked for the Nazis), Lindauer

McCAIN, TEMPTED

Escorted to the mountaintop
By one of Kerry's guys
Whose tail was definitely forked
And of a gorgeous size;
John heard the proposition—all
Of Veepland—but McCain
(You ought to run a screen test, Mel)
Declined with, "Best to Jane."

—W. H. VON DREELE

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truly, deeply believes she behaved virtuously, and is therefore justified in betraying her country to achieve "peace." Lindauer's defense? "I'm an anti-war activist." Indeed, "I did more to stop terrorism in this country than anybody else," she added, modestly if not entirely accurately.

■ American policy is cracking the ice cap of Baathist oppression that has settled over Syria these 40 years. Washington's move to impose sanctions for President Assad's support of terror is encouraging Syrians to demand rights. After a nine-year spell in a Syrian prison, Nizar Nayouf lives in exile in Paris. There he edits *The Voice of Democracy*, a newspaper that is everything its title implies. Assad badly wants to lay hands on Nayouf again, and it looks as if the French may humbly oblige. They seem unwilling to offer a democratic Syrian journalist the same protection they once took pride in extending to political refugees, including the authoritarian Ayatollah Khomeini. In central Damascus, a group of 20 or 30 democrats met to protest the anniversary of the Baath party's seizure of power. They claimed to have 7,000 signatures to a petition demanding the lifting of rule by emergency law. Secret policemen soon rounded them up. Kurds form some 10 percent of the population, and they cannot help being encouraged by what they see happening to Iraqi Kurds. At a soccer match in Kamishli, a town near the border with Iraq, Kurds began to demand basic rights of citizenship and the use of their own language. Some were chanting, "We will sacrifice our lives for Bush." The police opened fire. By the end of the day, up to 15 people had been killed and as many as 60 wounded. Their funerals the next day led to riots in at least two other towns close to the frontiers. The police again opened fire, and there were reports of heavy casualties. Angry Kurds also seized the Syrian embassy in Brussels. Democratic exiles abroad, dissidents at home, abused national minorities, bravery in the face of injustice, and American pressure—liberty has a way of moving with a mix like that.

■ Though you wouldn't know it from most media accounts, the U.S. achieved an important victory against nuclear-weapons-acquiring rogue states on March 13, when the U.N.'s International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) resolved to criticize Iran for not fully disclosing the extent of its nuclear program. The resolution came as a response to mounting evidence of concealed nuclear activity in Iran. Over the initial resistance of Tehran's allies and Europeans, Washington lobbied for a strongly worded condemnation and managed, with a few compromises, to get just that. After the resolution passed, Iran declared a halt to U.N. inspections, only to change its mind—or wise up—and agree to let inspectors return at the end of the month. Not only did the American-led effort unite members of the IAEA against Iranian deception (according to an American

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official, not even Iran's allies stood by its side in the end), but it just might have scared Iran into submission, too. At a time when critics of the Bush administration like to carp about American "unilateralism," victories like this remind us that the Bush people have worked, and continue to work, with other nations to make the world a safer place. If Iran goes the way of Libya, we'll know whom to thank.

■ One of the bonuses of the Iraq campaign was the capture of Abu Abbas in Baghdad, where he was living courtesy of Saddam Hussein. A Palestinian, he left his particular mark on history in 1985 as the leader of a team that hijacked a cruise liner, the *Achille Lauro*, in the Mediterranean. One of the passengers was Leon Klinghoffer, an elderly and disabled American. His fate was to be shot in front of his wife and thrown overboard in his wheelchair. He had been singled out because he was a Jew. To that point, perhaps no single act of terrorist cruelty had so revolted the watching world. Abbas and his gunmen fled the ship, and caught an Egyptian plane. In an international drama, American aircraft intercepted this plane and obliged it to land in Italy. The Italian authorities quickly made sure to let Abbas avoid justice and slip out of the country. He then mounted a series of attacks on Israel. As a result of the Oslo accords, Israel granted him an amnesty and he returned to Gaza for a while, and then moved on to Baghdad. He never expressed regret for the *Achille Lauro*. While the authorities were determining how to prosecute him, he died in prison of natural causes. John Donne wrote that any man's death is diminishing, but then he didn't have to contend with Abbas.

■ Coming up to the 15th anniversary of the massacres in Tiananmen Square, any expression of sympathy for the demonstrating students and workers remains taboo in China's state-controlled media. The official line is that the whole movement was a "counter-revolutionary rebellion," and that the brutal suppression of it was necessary to maintain "stability," without which the subsequent increase in general prosperity could not have happened. Now one brave voice has challenged this orthodoxy. In an open letter to China's leaders, retired military physician Jiang Yanyong has urged them to reappraise the 1989 events as a patriotic movement against official corruption and misgovernment. Dr. Jiang is a popular hero in China. It was he who exposed official lying about the SARS epidemic last year. He also has firsthand knowledge of the Tiananmen crackdown, having been on duty in a nearby hospital on the night of the massacre and witnessed dozens of gunshot victims brought in. Dr. Jiang is probably too high-profile to be hustled off to a labor camp, but it is unlikely the nervous Brezhnevites who run China will accede to his suggestion. There is, after all, that precious "stability" to be maintained. And what was that about "corruption"?

■ It doesn't matter who is casting the votes, said Josef Stalin, an undoubted expert—what matters is who's counting them. Standing for re-election as president of Russia, Vladimir Putin has gone one better: It didn't matter who voted or who counted. In a style he can have learned only in good old KGB days, he took care that nobody of any standing ran against him, he closed down the independent media to ensure an almost total monopoly of debate and publicity, and he arrested or chased out of the country the millionaire oligarchs who alone might have had the means or independence to oppose him. He rigged this election as fraudulently as the ayatollahs in Iran had rigged theirs a few weeks before, but far more skillfully. Some Russians refused to vote in this Potemkin election, but plenty more forlornly hope that Putin will represent continuity and security, and anyway they want a strong leader, a czar in a black leather jacket. Such manipulation of a foregone conclusion is as flawless as it is ominous.

■ While little old ladies flying to the next state to see their grandchildren can now expect to have their knitting needles impounded by airport security staff, vigilance is about to be relaxed on our nation's borders, at least for one favored class of foreigners. This is an outcome of George W. Bush's meeting with "our good friend" President Vicente Fox of Mexico at the Crawford ranch in early March. A new measure will allow millions of Mexicans to cross the border into our country without being fingerprinted and photographed by U.S. authorities. Bush, perhaps gun-shy after the storm of Republican opposition to his January immigration proposals, allowed Fox to announce the change. Fox did so with the best grace he could muster, having hoped for much more. The Mexican government is now an aggressive lobbyist on behalf of its nationals illegally resident in the U.S., with a government department, the Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior, entirely devoted to this lobbying effort, concentrating particularly on winning U.S. welfare benefits for illegals. Perhaps, before granting any more favors to Mexico, someone in authority in the U.S. should tell them to stop meddling in our national affairs.

■ Harvard political scientist Samuel P. Huntington, whose 1993 essay "The Clash of Civilizations" launched a thousand discussion groups, has been setting the cat among the pigeons again. Writing in the journal *Foreign Policy*, Huntington argues that current Hispanic immigration into the United States is different in kind from past immigrations, and is causing major and irreversible changes in the very nature of our country. He is particularly troubled by the very high and persistent levels of Mexican immigration. Unlike the waves of Europeans a century ago, or the current inflow from Asia, the Mexicans come from a neighbor country, with which they can easily maintain close contact. Further, writes Huntington, they offer the potential for revanchist claims on U.S. territory, large parts of which were once Mexican. Huntington's thesis, which is taken from a book he has just finished writing,

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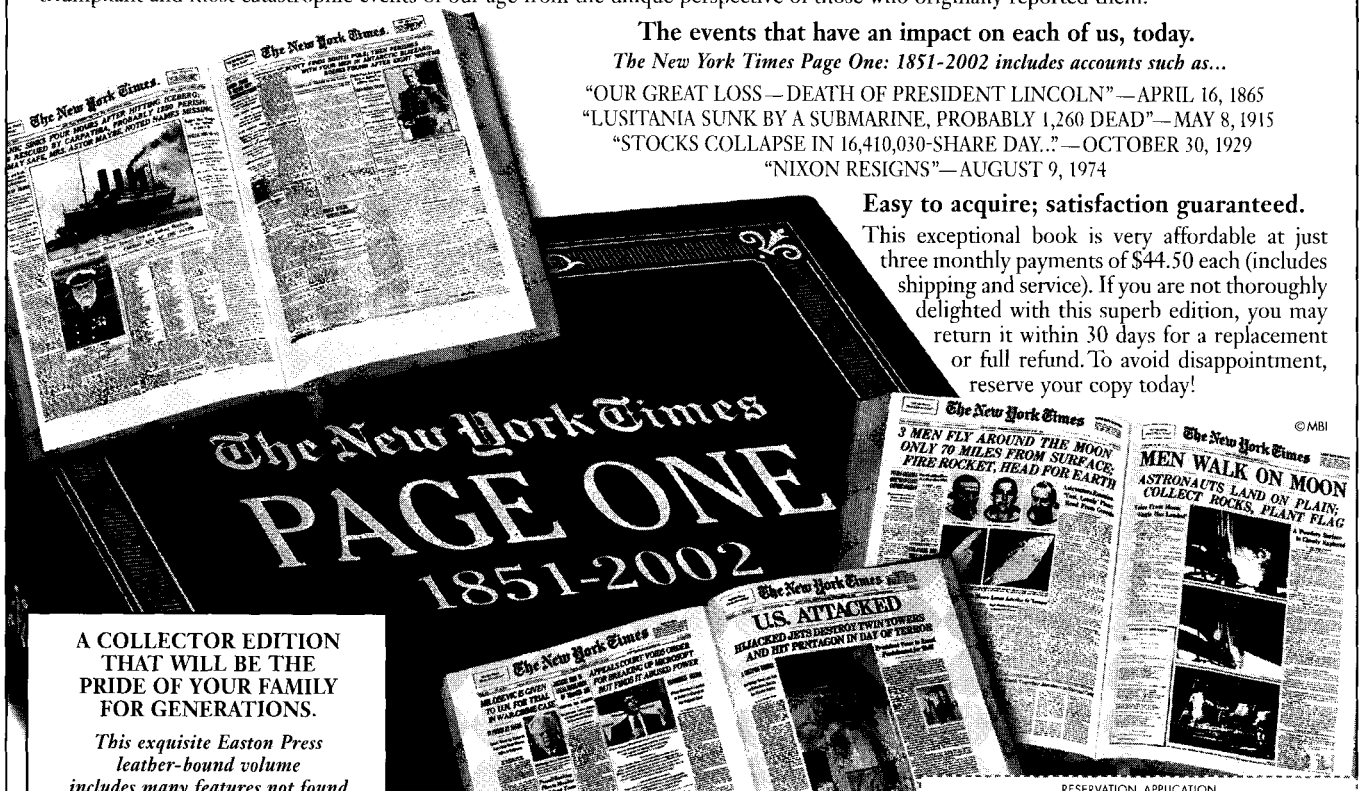

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met with much tsk-tsking from the guardians of the "open borders" flame. We welcome it as a further contribution to one of the key public debates of our time, one encapsulated in the title of Huntington's forthcoming book: *Who Are We?*

■ "Suggest that immigration, legal or otherwise, not only is in the American tradition but a net benefit to our economy besides, and watch the editors at *National Review* and the pseudo-populists at Fox News come unhinged." These words by Jason Riley graced the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*. Riley goes on to describe proponents of tighter border control and all their works as "loathsome," "repugnant," and "dumb." The moral of the story: Suggest that immigration, "legal or otherwise," would work better for America at lower levels, and what you will get from the *Wall Street Journal* is not a replay of the Lincoln–Douglas debates.

■ It is with great pleasure that we announce the birth of a new conservative magazine—a Canadian one—christened *Western Standard*. Based in Calgary, *Western Standard* emerged from the womb on March 12 and is reportedly doing splendidly. As Mark Steyn and David Frum,

Defend the Bush Economy, Stupid!

ONE of the great mysteries of this campaign season is why the Republicans are so defensive about the economy. The Kerry Democrats' mantra is that 2 million jobs have been lost on George W. Bush's watch. But this allegation is misleading at best. The new economic data from the Commerce Department show conclusively that the economic contraction began in the third quarter of 2000, at least six months before Bush took office. Bush inherited a recession from Clinton, and job losses were baked in the cake before a single Bush economic policy was implemented.

Moreover, given the economic thunderbolt of 9/11 it is a marvel that the U.S. economy has grown as robustly as it has over the past three years. Our economy has grown about one-third faster than Europe's or Japan's even though it was America that was struck by terrorists and even though America has shouldered the burden of fighting terrorism.

Bush's Tax Cut Steroids Spur Growth

	May 2003	February 2004	Change
Dow	8601.38	10296.89	19.7%
NASDAQ	1510.09	1964.15	30.1%
Real GDP	10288.3	10599.2	6.1%
Productivity	127.9	136.1	6.4%
Housing Starts	1745	1903	9.1%
Unemployment	6.1	5.6	-8.2%

SOURCE: COMMERCE DEPARTMENT, 2004.

Republicans should be running *on* the economy, not away from it. The tax cut, for one thing, has been an unqualified economic success story. The accompanying table shows that since the tax cut was passed last May (the very tax cut that Senator Kerry wishes to repeal) all economic indicators are pointing north. For example, the stock market is up a frisky 25 to 30 percent, and the economy has grown at a head-spinning 6 percent annualized rate.

Readers no doubt remember the famous "misery index" that Democrats invented as a way of bludgeoning Gerald Ford in 1976 (when Americans really were feeling pretty miserable). This index—inflation plus unemployment—serves as a convenient economic pulse of the nation. When Ford ran for re-election in '76, the misery index was 11 percent. Ford lost. In 1980 the misery index rose to 17 percent under Carter. Even when Clinton ran for re-election in 1996 celebrating good times, the misery index stood at 8 percent. Under Bush, the number now stands at 7.8 percent. Democratic politicians would be delighted if they could run on numbers like those, notwithstanding their runaway hyperbole about "the worst economic performance since Herbert Hoover."

Still there is the dreaded issue of the "jobless recovery"—a claim that seems to make the White House quiver in fear. Why? The American job-creation machine is still a huge success. The Joint Economic Committee recently discovered that the unemployment rate during this last recession and recovery peaked at a far lower rate than in any of the past three recessions. In the 1979-80 recession, unemployment hit 7.9 percent; followed by 10.8 percent in the 1982 mini-depression; and then 7.8 percent after the 1990 contraction. All of this compares with a tame 6.3 percent peak unemployment rate in this business cycle. The economy has produced fewer new jobs in this recovery, because the economy lost far fewer to begin with.

And what of Senator Kerry's infatuation with European-style "third way" economic prescriptions? Will this strategy of protectionism, high tax rates, rigid labor-union rules, and cradle-to-grave social safety nets bring manufacturing jobs back to our shores? The latest data from the workers' paradise of Euroland shows unemployment at 8 percent, compared with 5.6 percent in the U.S. If we had Euro-style rates of joblessness here, there would be roughly 3 million more unemployed American workers. Conversely, if Europe could ever obtain a 5.6 percent unemployment, there would be ticker-tape parades down the Champs-Elysées.

So if President Bush and the Republicans will simply tout the success of their tax-cut policies and push for more, the one man who will certainly be out of a job come November is John Kerry—denied the job in the Oval Office, that is.

—STEPHEN MOORE

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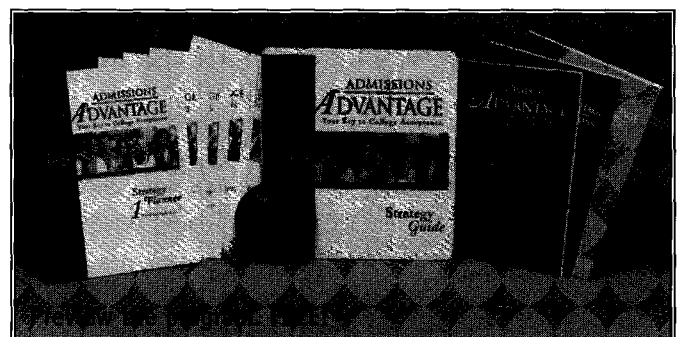

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THE WEEK...

National Review columnists (and Canadians) both, have already contributed, we're happy to say that, in a manner of speaking, we're kin. Welcome to the family.

■ It was a firing heard 'round the world. The Royal Opera at Covent Garden gave Deborah Voigt the heave-ho on grounds that she was too fat. Who is Deborah Voigt? The great American soprano who is perhaps the finest Strauss singer in the world. From what role was she fired? That of the Prima Donna in Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos*—this is a role she owns. But the casting director, Peter Katona, wanted his soprano in a slinky cocktail dress, and that is not the amply proportioned Miss Voigt (who is a beauty, in her own way). Debbie, at least publicly, shrugged it off. She made the delicious statement, "I can only say that if I were running an opera house, I'd want the best singer for the role, whether they had hips or not. But there it is." Katona was within his rights. But he did a boneheaded thing—music should remain supreme in opera, against the misguided demands of directors. An *Ariadne auf Naxos* for which Debbie Voigt isn't good enough is an *Ariadne auf Naxos* not good enough for the audience.

■ In other opera news, the *Los Angeles Times* committed a howler with respect to *Die Frau ohne Schatten*—another Strauss opera. The paper's music critic, Mark Swed, had called this opera "an incomparably glorious and goofy pro-life paean." (He meant that it celebrates procreation.) An on-the-ball editor at the *L.A. Times* changed "pro-life" to "anti-abortion"—and there ensued two hilarious corrections. Truth is, *Die Frau* features the Voices of Unborn Children. Those meaningless blobs of protoplasm actually sing. So the "anti-abortion" label—it just may fit.

■ Professional sports are a business, and, as such, need customers. When violence brings them in, violence can—and will—be provided. A bad-boy persona can even make a player more valuable to a team's owners. Thus, in a recent NHL game, Vancouver forward Todd Bertuzzi slugged Colorado's Steve Moore with a sucker punch, and then piled on him from behind, crushing his face into the ice. One result was a broken neck for Moore; another, suspension for at least the rest of the season for Bertuzzi, with a consequent salary loss of at least half a million from his $6.8 million yearly intake. Hockey can be a game that rewards skill, brains, and athletic grace, but many fans come for red meat. In indulging them, Bertuzzi committed a crime against hockey, and sport itself, and athletics' better possibilities. That should be the focus of public indignation. He also committed assault, which should be the focus of a criminal investigation.

■ A new planet has swum into our ken, an icy sphere 1,000 miles across and four times farther from the sun than Pluto. Though astronomers were pleased to observe this object, its existence was not much of a surprise. Theory has long suggested that planetoids made of rock and ice should be scattered through trans-Plutonian space. There is in fact a debate about whether these objects are properly planets at all. Be that as it may, this new object has been provisionally named Sedna, after an Eskimo sea-goddess. Here is yet another bit of pointless "diversity" pandering. What part did the Eskimos play in the development of astronomy, either practical or theoretical? In the invention of the telescope, or the understanding of celestial mechanics? Planets were traditionally named after Greco-Roman gods, nymphs, and heroes. This tradition is more apt than ever, since new celestial objects can be discovered only with the aid of advanced technology, itself a product of the Greco-Roman cultural inheritance. When the Eskimos have their own telescopes and space shuttles, let them name whatever they find up there. Until then, let Western civilization continue to mine its own traditions to supply names for its discoveries.

■ Senator Kerry says he is running to be America's second black president. Does that mean W. has to run as the 43rd white president?

AT WAR

A Defeat in Spain

THE Madrid bombings were a scene out of Goya—a brew of body parts, fear, and fanaticism. Days later they were followed by an event that, though quintessentially modern, is no less irrational, the election upset: The Popular party of outgoing premier José María Aznar lost to the Socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.

Aznar's position as prime minister was always anomalous. In eight years, he had brought Spain prosperity. But his decision to send 1,300 troops to Iraq had been opposed by 90 percent of Spaniards. He was brave and insightful to stand with the United States, but his party's tenure in office could continue only so long as everything went right.

Was Spain attacked because of its Iraq policy? That's what the terrorists said. In a videotape discovered after the blasts, a man identifying himself as an al-Qaeda functionary offered a blunt quid pro quo: "If you do not stop your collaboration, more and more blood will flow."

Yet terrorists, from Osama bin Laden down, have long identified Spain as a target. It is a stone in their sandals, a Christian country squatting in the former Moslem realm of al-Andalus. More generally, Spain, like all of Europe and the Americas, is filled with Jews, uncovered women, commerce, newspapers—all the things offensive to Islamists. If the Spaniards think that shuffling a government will get them off the hook, they must think again.

If al-Qaeda, like the Supreme Court, follows the election returns, it must feel encouraged. The loss of Afghanistan was a blow to their command structure; nothing approaching 9/11 has happened since. Yet branch offices have car-

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ried out major attacks in Bali and Madrid; the Madrid operation showed sophisticated coordination. Al-Qaeda may aim to pick off low-hanging fruit—potentially weak Western nations. Italy and the Netherlands both have troops in Iraq; Canada does not, but might be terrorized into outright anti-Americanism. The most tempting target, however, will be the United States, specifically the Bush campaign. Al-Qaeda will fancy itself George Soros with bombs.

Europe will see the strengthening of a Brussels response to terror. "Nobody, nobody, nobody should believe that somehow we can opt out of the war against Islamic terrorism," said Zapatero. But how will that war be waged? Romano Prodi, chief of the European Commission, said, "It is clear that using force is not the answer to resolving the conflict with terrorists." Though Brussels Europeans will use police and intelligence, they will not move against states that sponsor terror. As a sop to world Moslem opinion, they will continue to try to toss Israel off the sled. They may well crack down on Moslem populations at home, as in France's ban of headscarves in schools. By these means, they will hope to make the Mediterranean as wide as the Atlantic. Years ago James Burnham defined liberalism as the ideology of Western suicide. The Brussels approach to terror is the ideology of the fetal crouch.

The United States must seek to cultivate the European allies it has, and to create new ones. Bush and the State Department have to make our case to the public and to opinion-makers. We must continue pressuring the state sponsors of terror. Qaddafi's about-face, Musharraf's crackdown on the Pakistani bomb trade, popular rumblings in Syria and Iran, are all hopeful signs. State sponsorship is a vital issue, because 9/11, Bali, and Madrid were horrible; a plague or a nuke in London or Los Angeles would be catastrophic. To fight the branch offices of terror, we must be as adaptable as the enemy—hunting them down wherever they are.

The jihadists believe they will win because, unlike their enemies, who love life, they welcome death. We love life, and we love search-and-destroy.

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Regarding Notes & Asides in the Sept. 29 issue: I respectfully take issue with Mr. William J. McNamara's suggestion that we should never refer to the Ukraine as "the Ukraine." The world "Ukraine" means "the frontier" in both Ukrainian and Russian. The only reason the Russians and Ukrainians don't use a definite article with the name of the country is that—like the Finns, the ancient Romans, and many others—they manage to get by without having an equivalent for "the" or "a" in their languages.

While Ukraine is not listed in my *World Almanac* as "The Ukraine" (as opposed to, say, "The Gambia" or "The Bahamas"), it makes as much sense to say "the Ukraine" as it does to say "the United States" or "the United Kingdom," even though the latter are listed as "United States of America" and "United Kingdom" in the almanac. One also says "the Volga" and "the Don" rivers, even though the article-lacking Slavs say just "Volga" and "Don" in their respective languages.

Yours,
Patrick M. Dempsey
M.A., Linguistics
Granada Hills, Calif.

Dear Mr. Dempsey: Nicely done.
Thanks, WFB

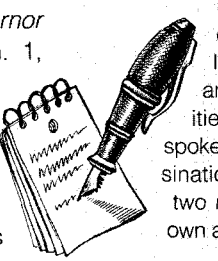
■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Working under the premise that any book one hasn't read is a new book, I venture this reply to your piece "How to Say It Just Right," as presented in *The Governor Listeth.* ("WFB *urbi et orbi*, Jan. 1, 1969: Who's right?")

The opening sentence of "The Politics of Assassination," encountered on page 71 of *The Governor Listeth,* did not scan for me on the first trial. Had I less faith in the ability of others to grasp quickly what I miss, or in your own ability as a smith of sentences, I might argue that it *won't* scan on a first reading.

> Robert F. Kennedy had a way of saying things loosely, and it may be that that is among the reasons why so many people invested so much idealism in him, it being in the idealistic (as distinguished from the analytical) mode to make large and good-sounding generalities, like the generality he spoke on April 5, after the assassination of Martin Luther King, two months exactly before his own assassination.

My own opinion of the sentence agrees with Professor Kenner's. No doubt you received many better suggestions 35 years ago when your appeal first went out, but here is my modest attempt at revision:

> Robert F. Kennedy had a way of saying things loosely; it may be among the reasons why so many people invested so much idealism in him. It is, after all, in the idealistic (as distinguished from the analytical) mode to make large and good-sounding generalities, like the generality he spoke on April 5, after the assassination of Martin Luther King, two months exactly before his own assassination: [quotation]



By coincidence, I came across this piece just a few days after reading the obituaries of Professor Kenner, whose writing I have also enjoyed. I understand that he was your friend; please accept my condolences.

Best regards,
Tim Walker
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Walker: Curses! I had hoped everybody had forgotten that sentence. It was given a definitive burial by Professor Kenner, R.I.P.
Cordially,

—WFB

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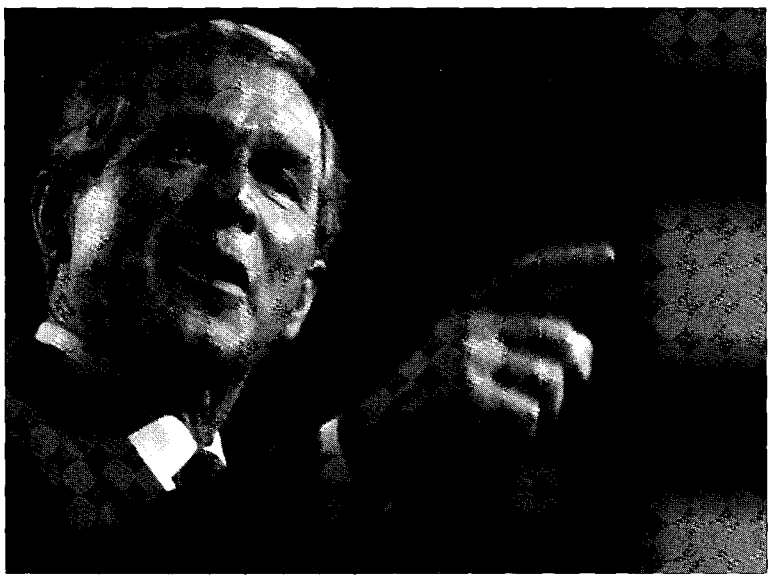

■ CAMPAIGN 2004 ■

Too Early To Panic

The Bush team has a handle on the situation

KATE O'BEIRNE

"THE only poll that matters is on Election Day," the trailing candidate typically asserts; but the polling eight months before Election 2004 has mattered, in contributing to the gloomy mood among many of President Bush's supporters. Most polls since late January have the president tied with or trailing John Kerry, and Bush campaign strategists counsel Republicans to get used to it because they don't expect a better showing until the fall. Campaign officials have launched their offensive against Kerry, even as some conservatives look for silver linings in a Bush defeat and the "Key Republicans" who "Admit Anxiety Over Campaign" make headlines.

As the battle is joined, there's trouble brewing in GOP ranks. Following weeks of Republican nail-biting over White House missteps ranging from the National Guard controversy and overblown predictions in the president's Economic Report to the administration's botched nomination of a manufacturing guru, supporters are now wondering whether the re-elect campaign, too, is stumbling.

A group of prominent Republicans who went to Bush-Cheney campaign headquarters for a recent meeting—designed to arm them with a winning campaign message—left the briefing decidedly off-message. It was "very discouraging," according to a participant. One depressed veteran of past campaigns reported, "It felt like 1992." Others said that the only strategy they could discern was lowering expectations about the president's poll standing for the next six months—which, the attendees fear, could be a self-fulfilling prophecy. It wouldn't be the first time that George W. Bush benefited from low expectations, but in the past it was his opponents who were discounting his prospects; it could prove difficult to energize a base disheartened by low expectations arising from White House actions and bad poll numbers month after month.

Interviews with senior campaign and party officials, however, indicate that a fuller picture of the state of the campaign could go a long way toward reassuring the worried troops. Ralph Reed, a regional chairman for the campaign, rejects the 1992 comparison out of hand. He points out that this President Bush's approval rating is about 50 percent, in contrast to his father's 41 percent twelve years ago, and he faces neither a primary challenge nor an independent candidate pulling voters from his base. Reed explains that, with these conditions in place, every incumbent president since World War II has been re-elected. In March 1992, 79 percent thought the country was on the "wrong track," while polls this month peg that number at 54 percent. In February, consumer confidence was at 93.1, significantly higher than the 68.8 in 1992.

Reed doesn't dispute the campaign's expectation of discouraging head-to-head polls over the coming months. He thinks it's important for conservatives "to know what we're up against." He predicts a "very, very tough election against a team that is out of power in the Senate, House, and presidency, so they are very focused." But he warns conservatives not to buy into the hype about the opposing team. For example, those angry Bush-hating Democratic voters wound up not having the energy and commitment so frequently attributed to them: The turnout of voters through Super Tuesday this year was the third lowest since 1960. Reed calculates that 2.4 million fewer people voted in 30 Democratic primaries and caucuses through Super Tuesday than voted in only 22 Republican contests in 2000.

Reed points out that President Bush has been on the receiving end of $40 million in critical Democratic ads, and that "all the earned media has gone their way" owing to negative coverage from the David Kay WMD report, the rising deficit numbers, and poor job-creation numbers. Reed notes that the current polls reflect an unsustainably low disapproval rating for John Kerry because, during the Democratic primaries, "Dean took all the hits and Kerry just steered around the wreckage."

By the time Bill Clinton secured the nomination after tough primaries in 1992, his negative rating was roughly equal to his positive rating—which, according to Reed, indicated that his supporters would

LARRY DOWNING/REUTERS

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be difficult to dislodge. Kerry enjoys a high positive-to-negative ratio, 60 percent to 26 percent in one recent poll, which Reed laughingly guarantees will not be the case come Election Day; and even with that artificial sweetener of a disproportionately positive rating he is essentially only tied with the president. "Where will he be in the polls when his favorability rating is 50 percent?" Reed asks. As recently as late November, observers blamed Kerry's "deep political problems" for his lagging behind Howard Dean in Massachusetts among Democratic voters he has represented for 19 years. In a recent Gallup poll, 9 out of 10 Bush supporters described themselves as pro-Bush rather than anti-Kerry. Only 6 in 10 of his opponent's supporters are pro-Kerry rather than anti-Bush.

Bush-Cheney campaign manager Ken Mehlman might have boosted the spirits of those discouraged Republican surrogates had he met with them. He explains that the president's political team has been working behind the scenes over the past three years to set up this race, so that "eight months before the election we're ahead of where we were one month before in 2000." The 37-year-old Baltimore native, who was national field director of the 2000 campaign, left his position as director of political affairs at the White House last May to run the campaign. After graduating from Harvard, Mehlman practiced law for a few years before joining a series of campaigns, including Sen. Phil Gramm's in 1996. Mehlman was chief of staff for Texas congresswoman Kay Granger, and had a reputation for being smart, disciplined, and knowledgeable about both policy and politics, when the Bush 2000 campaign tapped him to come to Austin.

Mehlman sees the campaign he's running—with its sharp ideological differences from the Democrats, its unprecedented grassroots effort, and its goal of electing Republicans at all levels—as the kind of campaign conservatives have wanted to run for 25 years. He emphasizes that the campaign has raised, and *saved*, the resources it will need to remain on the offensive until November. He explains that George W. Bush is the first president in history to have a working precinct organization in place eight months before the election. The campaign has trained 11,000 precinct chairmen and lined up 222,000 "team leaders." There are 6 million Bush campaign "e-activists"—ten times the number Howard Dean recruited online. Mehlman pores over weekly status reports from 19 battleground states to judge the progress being made in organizing volunteers and registering voters.

In 2000, 63 electoral votes were decided by a total of 25,000 votes. Republicans view their wins in 2002 as a payoff for the resources and effort devoted to their "72-hour project" to mobilize voters in the final days of a campaign. Even more attention to identifying, registering, and mobilizing voters this year could—according to GOP studies—be worth three to four points: the margin of victory in a close race. Recognizing that half of all Republicans don't live in strong GOP precincts, Mehlman explains that the campaign has examined reams of consumer data for information on everything from magazine subscriptions to gun ownership and church attendance to identify potential Republican voters. GOP chairman Ed Gillespie anticipates that Republicans will have the largest grassroots operation in history, and pledges to register 3 million new voters by November—with specific goals in states that Bush won or lost narrowly in 2000.

In paid and earned media every week until Election Day, Republicans will be telling voters, "Our ideas are right, his are wrong," and expect that when Kerry defends himself he'll sound like he's flip-flopping. The campaign believes that the "liberal" label is "less instructive" than specific criticisms of Kerry's positions and record. The "Steady Leadership in Times of Change" tagline on the Bush ads refers to what Karen Hughes calls the "fault line" of 9/11: The charge is that Democrats haven't adjusted to either the new national-security challenges we face or the demands of the modern economy.

Mehlman scoffs at the notion that should the president lose, there could be compensating GOP congressional wins in 2006. "Winning is a habit in politics, so is losing," he declares, and predicts that the losing party this year will turn inward and be divided and angry. As long as Republicans don't get that way before November, President Bush should be favored for re-election, despite what the polls might be saying. **NR**

■ CAMPAIGN 2004 II

What Do You Mean 'We'?

9/11 families for Bush

BYRON YORK

In mid March, George W. Bush traveled to Long Island to help dedicate a new memorial to the 281 people from Nassau County who died in the September 11 terrorist attacks. The president took part in a ground-breaking ceremony, and while he didn't address the crowd, he did speak privately with each of the victims' family members who came to the event. But first, he had to direct a little traffic.

A man named Jimmy Boyle, a retired New York firefighter whose 37-year-old son Michael, also a firefighter, died in the North Tower of the World Trade Center, was trying to get to the event but found himself stuck in traffic and the web of security that surrounds presidential appearances. Boyle was with his wife, one of his sons, and a staffer for his friend and congressman, Peter King (R., N.Y.). He drove up to one checkpoint and was told by a guard to go to another point nearby. He tried that, and was sent to another checkpoint, and then to another. The run-around continued until King's aide called his boss, who had flown to New York with Bush on Air Force One.

A few minutes later, with frustration in the car rising, Boyle's cellphone rang. His son answered it and said to Boyle, "It's George Bush." And indeed it was. A thoroughly surprised Boyle told the president he couldn't get past the checkpoints. "I've got some power around here," said Bush, with a bit of presidential understatement. "I think I can get you in."

Just then, another policeman guarding yet another entrance confronted Boyle and his group. "The cop said, 'You can't go there,'" recalls Boyle, "and I said, 'I'm on

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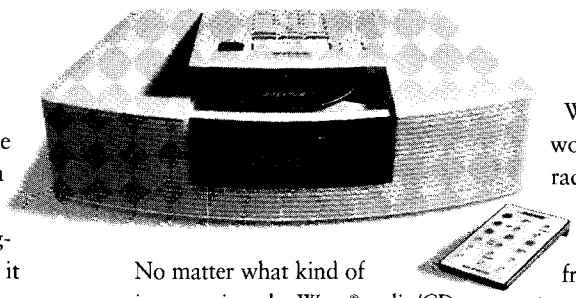

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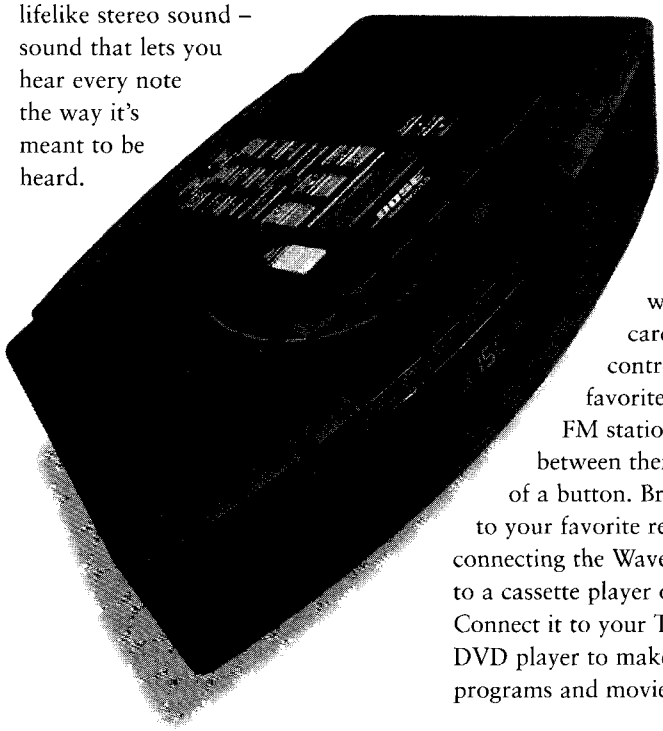

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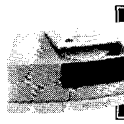

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the phone with the president of the United States.'" Of course, the policeman didn't believe it. As the two argued, a golf cart drove up with two members of the president's staff, and bingo, Boyle was in. When the president arrived, he approached Boyle with a smile. "I *told* you I could get you in," he said.

Bush had reason to pay attention to Jimmy Boyle. Boyle is a past president of New York's Uniformed Firefighters Association, Local 94, the largest local firefighters' union in the country. He's also a lifetime Democrat who has never voted for a Republican for president (he was, in fact, head of Firefighters for McGovern back in 1972). But this year, Boyle plans to vote for George W. Bush, because Boyle wants the president to keep up the war on terrorism.

All that would be enough to make Bush grateful, but on that day in Long Island the president owed Boyle for another reason. In the week before the memorial ceremony, Boyle, acting not as a retired union chief but as a man who lost his son on September 11, took it upon himself to defend the president against charges that his campaign exploited memories of 9/11 in its first set of advertisements.

One of the commercials had shown a brief shot—just a second or two—of a firefighter on a lift with a flag-draped coffin at Ground Zero. Members of an anti-war group called September 11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, working with left-wing foundations and public-relations experts, protested loudly. They were joined by Boyle's old friend Harold Schaitberger, head of the International Association of Fire Fighters, a leading supporter of the Kerry campaign.

Jimmy Boyle

Schaitberger and his top staff were in a meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., when they learned the commercials were about to appear. The ads were set to debut officially on Thursday, March 4, but the Bush campaign had put them up on its website the night before. Schaitberger was watching. "I saw the ads . . . and we got out a press release Wednesday evening," Schaitberger says. "That's what began to generate a significant response." By the time the commercials actually appeared on Thursday, the story was not the ads themselves but the "controversy" over them. The Bush campaign was on the defensive.

That's where Jimmy Boyle came in. Boyle was at his home in Westbury, Long Island, early Thursday morning when he heard a report saying that September 11 families and firefighters were furious about the commercials. Boyle didn't know what was going on. "I said, 'Jeez, I'm a family, and a firefighter, too, and nobody ever mentioned anything to me,'" he recalls.

When he looked at the ads later that day, Boyle didn't see a problem. "I'm not knocking any family member who's against the president," he says, "but I felt that September 12 was a new world from September 11, and this guy George Bush stepped up to the plate and became a leader, and I want him to be able to finish this war." Boyle talked to a number of his friends who had lost relatives on 9/11, and they felt the same way.

Boyle decided to write an open letter in support of Bush. "A few of the voices of September 11 have been critical of President Bush's campaign advertisements that, in a respectful way, recall the incredible challenges we all faced," Boyle wrote. "Certainly we respect those voices and their opinions. Those few voices, however, do not speak for all of us."

Boyle enlisted more than two dozen other September 11 families to support the letter. He called people like Ed Sweeney, a retired fire-department captain whose firefighter son Brian died in the South Tower. "I have no problem with that whatsoever," Sweeney says of the Bush ads. "This happened on [Bush's] watch, and I think he did a good job taking care of it." Sweeney was at Ground Zero on September 14, 2001, when the president climbed on a crushed fire truck, took a megaphone, and told the crowd that the world would soon hear from the United States. Those words meant a lot to Sweeney. "It was one of the most uplifting moments that I can remember," Sweeney says. "I was at a low low of all low lows."

Boyle also called Ken Haskell, a firefighter who lost two brothers, both firefighters, on 9/11. "I encourage [the president] to use those images," Haskell says. "It's important for people to remember what happened to us. People are going to be bitter for the rest of their lives for what happened, but they should blame the terrorists, not the president."

Boyle did all of his work unbidden by the White House. Indeed, the Bush campaign had no contact with Boyle until after the letter attracted a little pres[illegible]tention. Then the White House got on t[illegible]l, and Bush helped Boyle out of that traffic jam.

In the end, the episode wasn't particularly encouraging news for Republicans who worry that the Bush campaign is not really in top fighting form. Although campaign officials say they expected the controversy, after the ads debuted the campaign spent days playing defense. Meanwhile, one of their best spokesmen, Boyle, was working freelance, unknown to campaign officials.

The situation was reminiscent of the recent furor over the president's National Guard service, in which the White House did not seek out—indeed, didn't even seem to want—the assistance of a retired lieutenant colonel who remembered Bush showing up for duty in Alabama at a time when Democrats charged he was AWOL. The man had to take it upon himself to help the president.

Charges that Bush is exploiting September 11 are sure to arise again. The members of Peaceful Tomorrows are determined to continue the fight, and they have received almost universally favorable coverage in the press. Of course, the next time controversy flares, the Bush campaign can turn to Jimmy Boyle. But nervous Republicans would feel more confident if the Bush forces had thought of that on their own. **NR**

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■ AT WAR

Twilight Struggles

The Cold War and the Terror War, alike and not alike

RICHARD PIPES

When the Cold War ended suddenly in 1991, it was widely believed that its demise opened the gates to an eternity of peace and freedom. Francis Fukuyama's immensely successful *End of History*, published in January 1992—days after the dissolution of the Soviet Union—reflected this comforting faith. Applying Hegelian precepts, it argued that the triumph of capitalism and liberal democracy was conclusive, and that hostile ideologies would never again disturb global stability. Alas, this prediction turned out to be utterly wrong. Much closer to the truth was Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, published five years later, which predicted a continuation of global conflicts. This time it would involve not traditional nations or ideologies, but supra-national entities—"civilizations"—especially the West and Islam.

The Cold War and the War on Terror bear some resemblance. In both cases, the West has been compelled to defend itself from forces fundamentally inimical to it, to repel assaults that, in the eyes of its opponents, have to end in the victory of the one or the other. Lenin made this objective explicit in a speech delivered to party faithful in March 1919, barely five months after the end of what was, at the time, the bloodiest war in history: "The existence of the Soviet Republic alongside the imperialist states over the long run is unthinkable. In the end, either one or the other will triumph. And until that end has arrived, a series of the most terrible conflicts between the Soviet republics and the bourgeois governments will be unavoidable."

The Muslim assault on the West—launched as an outgrowth of Ayatollah Khomeini's ascent to power in Iran and the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan—is not centrally directed, and has no individual leader like Lenin qualified to speak on its behalf. And the Islamic concept of jihad, or holy war, is subject to varying interpretations. Nevertheless, its objective—certainly among its more extreme champions—is as uncompromising as global revolution was for the Communists, inasmuch as it involves nothing less than world conquest. For the Islamists, as once for the Communists, it is a zero-sum game: the goal of which is the replacement of the Western way of life with a rigid authoritarian regime (based in one case on secular totalitarianism, and in the other, theocracy).

These are the fundamental similarities between the two great challenges to confront the West since 1917; their differences, however, are no less significant.

The Soviet Union was led by politicians who, for all the utopianism of their objective, acted in a very deliberate and pragmatic manner. Both Lenin and Stalin had a keen sense of power relationships: They knew when to advance and when to retreat, and how to exploit discord among their adversaries. Above all, they wanted to survive. There was nothing suicidal in their psyche; to use Charles Krauthammer's phrase, they did not "ache for heaven." Although not averse to brinkmanship, they relied mostly on blackmail, and drew back when it failed to work.

The picture is quite different when we turn to the Islamic extremists. These people understand nothing of power relationships, being quite prepared to attack head-on anyone whom they have designated as their enemy. Whereas the Soviet leaders, having failed to spread revolution to Europe in the wake of World War I, gave up this objective and concentrated on instigating World War II, the Islamists do not seem to learn from defeat. In Russia, the Chechens are taking on a great power, seemingly unaware that their own forces are minuscule in comparison. In Israel, Palestinian extremists seem to think that blowing up cafés or buses will bring down the mightiest state in the Middle East. These people have an amazing ability to interpret every defeat as "victory."

No less significant is the fact that, unlike the Communists, the Islamists have suicidal personalities, which means that they are not suitable partners for negotiations. They reject out of hand offers of compromise, interpreting them as proof of their opponents' weakness or loss of heart. For these reasons, although the Islamic terrorists are incomparably weaker than the Communists, they are more intractable and therefore more difficult to subdue. There can be no mutually satisfactory settlement with them: They have to be crushed.

This is not an easy task, but it is a feasible one. Terrorism is a weapon of the weak. It originated in Russia, where, in the late 1870s, a tiny group of fanatical revolutionaries, having failed to arouse the peasantry, organized the self-styled "People's Will" and declared war on the czarist regime. They scored many successes, including the assassination of Czar Alexander II, but in the end they were vanquished. One of their leaders, Lev Tikhomirov, abandoned the revolutionary cause because he had concluded that terrorism was pointless: If one had broad popular support, it was unnecessary, and if one lacked it, futile.

Czarism proved this point again in the early 1900s, when it confronted a revived wave of terrorism that claimed thousands of lives, and once again smashed it. This it accomplished by penetrating the Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist organization with spies who thwarted many outrages and sowed distrust within the ranks. Their success in this endeavor is illustrated by the fact that the head of the Socialist-Revolutionary Combat Organization, Erno Azef, turned out to be a police agent—a revelation that led to the final defeat of terrorism in czarist Russia.

When it comes to contemporary terrorism, military action—essential as it is—will not suffice. It must be supplemented by at least two additional measures: infiltration as developed in czarist Russia and practiced today in Israel, and large-scale propaganda.

Infiltration is feasible because terrorists

Mr. Pipes is a professor of history, emeritus, at Harvard, and the author, most recently, of *Vixi: The Memoirs of a Non-Belonger* (Yale).

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live in an environment of permanent insecurity and mutual suspicion. This is how Tikhomirov described it:

> The very way of life of the terrorist has a stupefying effect. It is the life of a hunted wolf. The dominating awareness is that he must be prepared to perish not just today or tomorrow, but any second. The only hope of coping with this awareness is to push out of mind many matters which for someone who wishes to be a mature human being require thought . . . Apart from five to ten like-minded persons one must deceive from morning to night literally everyone; one must hide from everyone, suspect in everyone an enemy . . . One needs extraordinary fortitude to think and work at all under such unnatural conditions. But even those who possess it, unless they extricate themselves from the quagmire of their situation, quickly go under. For individuals of lesser caliber, these perpetual intrigues with spies, false passports, conspiratorial apartments, dynamites, ambushes, dreams of murders, escapes prove even more disastrous.

Granted, the situation of Islamic terrorists is different—if only because their Russian counterparts were waging war against their own government and there was no linguistic or cultural barrier separating the killers from their intended victims. Still, Tikhomirov's point is as valid today as it was in his day: Terrorists are vulnerable, and their vulnerability can be exploited.

To this end we need numerous agents in all countries that harbor terrorists, agents who, from either conviction or the lure of financial rewards, are prepared to betray the terrorists and the regimes friendly to them. We obviously have made some progress in this endeavor, since, for two and a half years, no terrorist atrocities have been committed on U.S. soil. In Iraq, we still have a way to go.

The third weapon in this war must be propaganda. Few people realize the extent to which our broadcasts to the Communist bloc undermined those regimes. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty articulated ideas that many citizens of these countries harbored in secret. In so doing, we persuaded them they were not alone in holding subversive ideas, thereby shattering the illusion of unanimity on which the totalitarian regimes relied to contain dissent.

Extremists (such as Islamic terrorists) are, by definition, a minority; often they are a small minority. Yet they exert over the majority much of the same control that totalitarian regimes exert over their citizens. They intimidate dissenters by making them feel like traitors and outcasts. Massive propaganda to Muslim countries can counter this effort, and encourage the opposition to terrorism that, at present, is cowed.

One more difference between the Cold War and the War on Terror deserves emphasis. The Soviet regime, our main enemy, was thousands of miles away and the threat it posed—*pace* McCarthyism—did not significantly affect our way of life. Modern terrorists, by contrast, attempt to operate inside the United States, posing a threat requiring domestic precautions in response, measures that, in the opinion of some, may endanger our liberties. Personally, I have experienced no restrictions on my civil rights: At worst, I have suffered the inconvenience of passing through airport security.

But a considerable body of opinion in this country fears that, over time, our liberties will be eroded as we pursue potential mass killers in our midst. This fear can assume bizarre dimensions. I recall the physicist Steven Weinberg telling an academic audience not long ago that some day, the United States may be subjected to a terrorist attack by weapons of mass destruction, which will claim 20 or more million casualties. The very first question addressed to him during the discussion period was not "How can we prevent such a catastrophe?" but "What will it do to our civil liberties?"

Civil liberties are a most precious commodity, but human lives are more precious still. We must be prepared in the years ahead to endure a variety of limitations on them if they are found necessary to prevent terrorist attacks. It would be infantile to do otherwise.

A combination of military action, infiltration, and propaganda can, in time, constrain and ultimately crush terrorism, as it has crushed similar threats in the past. The conflict is, in some regards, different from the struggle of the Cold War, but it is no less winnable, and no less necessary to win. **NR**

■ **AT WAR II**

A Clash of Interests

Will it be the national interest, or the interests of the 'international community'? This is a campaign question

LEE A. CASEY &
DAVID B. RIVKIN JR.

PRESIDENTIAL elections are not, as a rule, decided by foreign-policy issues. But key foreign-policy issues can be decided by presidential elections, and this will be particularly true of 2004's. The differences between George W. Bush and John Kerry in their approaches to international relations could not be more dramatic. Never has the partisan gulf been wider. While in the past Democrats and Republicans frequently disagreed about individual issues—the Vietnam War, U.S.-Soviet arms control—at stake now is a fundamental operational principle: whether American foreign policy will be principally driven by considerations of the national interest or by a tender regard for the wishes of the "international community," based on an ideology of "multilateralism."

Although the Left in general, and Democratic activists in particular, have ceaselessly carped about George W. Bush's "unilateralism," the president has actually followed a highly pragmatic approach to international cooperation, acting, whenever possible, in concert with other states and institutions—including Europe and the United Nations. In fact, on each of the major foreign-policy challenges it has faced, and continues to face—including war with al-Qaeda, deposing Saddam Hussein, interdicting

Messrs. Casey and Rivkin are partners in the Washington, D.C., office of Baker & Hostetler LLP. Both served in the Justice Department during the Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations.

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SHE TOLD ASHCROFT: "Mind your own business."

The Court agreed -- it's up to the states!

Angel McClary Raich has an inoperable brain tumor. After her doctor tried everything to keep her from wasting away, he finally recommended marijuana. It saved her life. What's more it got her out of a wheelchair and back with her husband and children.

But the Attorney General says there's no such thing as medical marijuana -- even though studies show otherwise[1] - and it's legal in 9 states. John Ashcroft has been sending his troops out to bust the sick and dying and their care-givers. He even tried to intimidate their doctors but that's where the Supreme Court drew the line.[2]

Now the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals has joined with Angel Raich.[3] They're telling the Attorney General to butt out.

A TIME-CNN poll shows that 80 percent of Americans support medical marijuana for the seriously ill.[4] Isn't it time for the federal government to catch up with science and the people?[5]

www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, wwwMedicalMJ.org

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[1]"Marijuana and Medicine" Inst.of Medicine, 1999 [2]Walters v. Conant 03-40 [3]Raich v. Ashcroft 9th Cir. No. 03-15481 [4]TIME Nov.4 2002
[5]To find out what you can do to help patients like Angel, contact Americans for Safe Access www.SafeAccessNow.org 1-888-929-4367

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WMDs and their components, and denuclearizing North Korea, Iran, and Libya—the administration has sought (and obtained) the support and assistance of numerous other countries and international organizations.

At the same time, Bush has eschewed improvident international commitments (such as the International Criminal Court Treaty and the Kyoto Protocol) that would tie America's hands in meeting the challenges of an increasingly dangerous world, compromise its sovereignty, and undermine its prosperity. Perhaps more to the point, the president has consistently treated multilateralism as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. This is the real complaint from Bush's critics, and they hate him for it—openly and unapologetically.

The religion of multilateralism began in post-World War II Europe, where the creation of multilateral Franco-German (and then "European") institutions was seen as the antidote to the nationalism that had sparked two world wars. The keystone of these efforts was the subordination of country-specific interests (particularly those of Germany) to the aspirations of a greater European community, de-legitimizing national action in the process. All this was so effective that, to this day, nascent unilateralism is one of the most serious charges that can be flung at a German politician, and even French officials routinely proclaim the overriding importance of common European interests in foreign affairs—rather than *La Patrie* or *La Gloire*. (Whether they believe what they say—the French foreign minister reportedly adorns his office with Napoleon Bonaparte's portrait—is another matter.)

Not surprisingly, France and Germany remain the "engines" of European integration, and, nearly 60 years later, the "common European home" has blossomed into a union that will soon stretch from Ireland to Poland. Together, Paris and Berlin—which secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld accurately characterized as "Old Europe"—seem determined to recreate something like the medieval Franco-German empire of Charlemagne. These new Carolingians have drafted a constitution (of which many of Europe's smaller states are understandably wary), and they are already flexing their ideological muscles. European politicians have set forth to preach the message that national sovereignty is anachronistic, if not positively dangerous, and that the "international community" is the ultimate font of legitimacy. Unfortunately, this message has been endorsed in the U.S. explicitly by senior Democratic officials, such as former secretary of state Madeleine Albright, and indirectly by Democratic politicians—including John Kerry—who appear to consider "engagement" with the "international community" the lodestar of a successful foreign policy.

Why Old Europe's new learning should appeal to anybody in the United States is not immediately obvious: The U.S. has never indulged in the ethnically based nationalism that ravaged 20th-century Europe, instead cultivating a far more inclusive patriotism that, as George Will once noted, accepts anyone willing to subscribe to the principles announced in the Declaration of Independence. The first and foremost of those principles, of course, is the right to self-government, free from "supranational" interference.

The Left has traditionally found its ideas in continental Europe.

Nevertheless, the Old World's thinking has always had a profound impact on the New, and especially on "progressive" opinion. While American conservatives tend to look to the British Enlightenment for their intellectual inspiration, the Left has traditionally found its ideas, and ideologies, in continental Europe—from Rousseau, to Marx, to Jean Jaurès. This may explain why many American liberals, including a number of prominent Democratic leaders and foreign-policy experts, have so thoroughly embraced the European ideology of multilateralism. Yet this ideology is profoundly anti-democratic in nature, and irreconcilable with core American values such as self-government. The fact that it has been adopted by a self-styled populist party is astonishing.

At the same time, many U.S. multilateralists came of age during the Vietnam War, when political activism (both in the United States and Europe) involved vocal, and often violent, opposition to American government policy. Although the days of flag-burning are long past, the habits of thought engendered during the Vietnam experience, especially regarding the use of American military force overseas, are still evident; hence a straightforward, national-interest-based foreign policy is considered by many on the left to be morally dubious, if not outright repugnant.

As a result, it is hardly surprising that no element of Bush's foreign policy has so outraged the Left in general, and leading Democrats in particular, as the principle of "preemptive" war—a doctrine thoroughly grounded in considerations of national interest. The president has made clear that, in an age in which civilians are deliberately targeted and weapons of mass destruction are readily available, the United States cannot afford to absorb a "first strike," but will identify gathering threats and act to preempt them. This "doctrine" is nothing more than common sense, and there is bountiful state practice establishing its legitimacy under international law. One example—far too often overlooked—is the September 1939 Anglo-French ultimatums to Hitler, which declared that only a prompt withdrawal from Poland could stop the Western democracies from entering the war. Neither state, of course, had been attacked. Neither was threatened with attack, and the bulk of Germany's armed forces were headed in exactly the opposite direction. This too was an "elective" war, a war of choice—a choice made because neither Britain nor France was willing to "wait its turn."

Despite preemption's firm grounding in international law and practice, most leading Democrats have denounced the doctrine, although none—including and especially Senator Kerry—has suggested an alternative beyond generalized platitudes about seeking the assistance of our "allies" and the U.N. Security Council. They have yet to suggest exactly what assistance—assistance that could actually protect the American people from a reprise of September 11—those allies might provide. The United Nations depends on American military might to implement its resolutions, not to mention guarantee the security of its own headquarters, while our European cohorts continue to reduce their military capabilities to embarrassing levels.

What our allies *can* offer, though, is the cloak of multilateralism. The "internation-

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al community"'s permission is just about the only coin Old Europe has left to spend, and so it is determined to inflate that currency's value. It has accomplished this by advancing a view of international law that, on virtually every issue, works primarily as a means of constraining the United States. This is especially true with respect to the legal justification for the use of military force, and explains Europe's insistence that only the United Nations (where France enjoys veto power) can authorize *legitimate* use of military force. It also explains the near-hysterical Franco-German reaction when the administration sought to reward its friends, and disadvantage its opponents, by reserving certain reconstruction contracts for nationals of Iraqi Coalition countries.

Naturally, the new Carolingians recognize an exception to this rule where their own vital interests are involved—as demonstrated by the 1999 NATO war with Serbia over Kosovo. The Kosovo crisis was of paramount importance to France and Germany (one fearing Muslim reaction, the other a renewed flood of Balkan refugees)—but of only humanitarian concern to the United States. Russia would have vetoed any Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force against the Serbs, and so France, Germany, and the EU were happy to have NATO proceed *without* U.N. authorization. It is a purely self-interested form of legitimacy that our allies are peddling, and the role they appear to have reserved for the United States is not unlike that of the 18th-century Hessians: the muscle. But unlike the Hessians, who were paid for their services, the United States is expected to both fight and foot the bill.

This, ultimately, is what the multilateralism the Democrats have embraced means, and this is what they will ask the American people to endorse on November 2. In the months to come, the Bush administration would be well advised to articulate clearly the profound differences between its national-interest-driven foreign policy—where multilateral action is a means to an end—and Senator Kerry's policy, where multilateralism is an end in itself. (Indeed, Kerry proudly proclaims that he is supported by many foreign leaders against President Bush.) The electorate can then decide whether Uncle Sam should become Uncle Sucker. **NR**

■ **THE AMERICAS**

A Wretched Place on Earth

The agony of Haiti, unending and worsening

ANTHONY DANIELS

HAITIAN naïve art often depicts landscapes replete with surreally lush vegetation, populated with friendly, smiling lions, leopards, and giraffes. When you know Haiti as it is, however, these paintings take on a different and much deeper meaning: They express a longing for a paradise lost, in Africa and in Haiti itself—a paradise that never existed, except in the imaginations of those who despair.

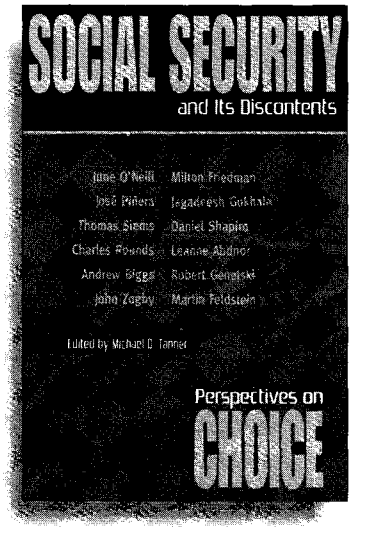
Such longing is understandable in a country for which today is always worse than yesterday, and for which tomorrow will almost certainly be worse than today. Idealization is an escape from a grim reality, and an even grimmer future: The painters' thriving, fruitful landscapes, for example, are a response to the almost total deforestation of the real Haiti. The land is bare and eroded; the trees have been cut down; the people have fled to the inferno-city. And when you fly from the Dominican Republic, which shares with Haiti the island of Hispaniola, you can see the border between the two countries from five miles up, green on one side, desert-brown on the other.

The hopes placed by the Haitian population in former priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide, when he was first elected president, seem now to have been as extravagant and unrealistic as the canvases of the wishful painters. He promised the Haitian people that he would lift them

Mr. Daniels is the author of many books, particularly about the Third World.

"A must-have compilation of the best work on Social Security reform."

—Larry Lindsey, Former Economic Adviser to President Bush



As Social Security heads toward insolvency, reform is on President Bush's agenda. In this book, more than a dozen leading Social Security experts discuss the need to reform the program by giving workers the choice to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in private accounts. Among the issues discussed are the problems of the current system, the various proposals for reform, and the impact of reforms on women, the poor, and minorities. Contributors include Milton Friedman, Martin Feldstein, June O'Neill, José Piñera, Andrew Biggs, Leanne Abdnor, and Michael Tanner.

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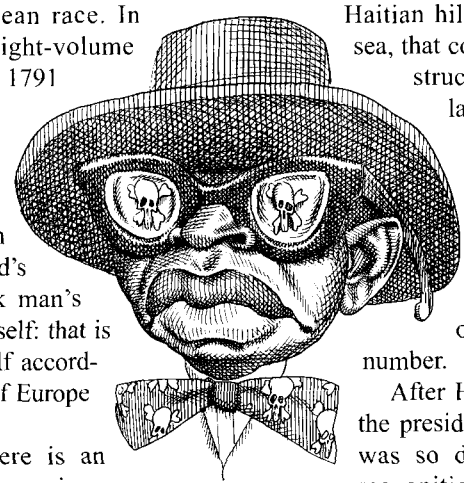
from absolute misery to decent poverty, but even this was a dream too far. Haitians are now poorer and more desperate than ever. If they could, 95 percent of them would leave. Those who risk the trip to Florida in leaky boats are said to take *le passeport requin*, the shark passport: an eloquent testimony to their desperation.

Anyone who visits Haiti senses at once that this small and obscure country has a tragic history far more significant than its present unimportance in world affairs would suggest. Since its birth as a result of the first truly successful slave revolt in history, Haiti has symbolized far more than just itself: It has symbolized man's desperate search for justice in a world of injustice, and the African race's desire, long denied, to be taken as equal by the European race. In the preface to his eight-volume history of Haiti from 1791 to 1846, 19th-century Haitian historian Thomas Madiou wrote that upon the conduct of the Haitian republic hung the world's opinion of the black man's ability to govern himself: that is to say, govern himself according to the standards of Europe and North America.



Papa Doc

ROMAN GENN

But of course there is an equal and opposite yearning: for the Haitians to be measured not by the standards of Paris or Washington, but to be accepted as the originators of a vibrant, syncretic, and valuable culture of their own. The populism of Aristide was foreshadowed by that of François Duvalier—Papa Doc—who, besides being a doctor, was an ethnographer who rejected the idea that Haitians should become more like whites. As Papa Doc's dictatorship demonstrated, cultural authenticity is a dangerous notion when welded to political power.

Haiti was born out of the most inauspicious of circumstances. Even by the standards of 18th-century slavery, conditions in Saint Domingue (as the French colony was known) were atrocious. The Pearl of the Antilles gave rise to one-third of France's external trade, but the wealth extracted from the plantations, principally in sugar, came at the cost of unparalleled cruelty. Slaves had to be imported every year to prevent a decline in their total numbers. When the example of the French Revolution finally led to revolt, a war to the death soon ensued: The first ruler of independent Haiti, Dessalines—who proclaimed himself Emperor and was then himself assassinated—decreed that every white (with the exception of some Poles who had joined the blacks) should be killed.

The country split in two; the north was ruled by King Christophe, and the south by Alexandre Petion. Christophe was so afraid of French attempts to recover its colony that he built the Citadel, truly one of the wonders of the world: a formidable and impregnable fortress in the Haitian hills, overlooking the sea, that could have been constructed only by forced labor on a vast scale. The slaves had won their freedom only to deliver themselves up to another slave master: this time, one of their own number.

After Haiti's reunification, the president, General Boyer, was so desirous of French recognition of Haiti's independence that he agreed to pay an indemnity to France for loss of property, which indebted the country deeply for the next 70 years. The United States, which might have been the country's natural ally and trading partner, refused to recognize it for more than half a century, for fear that its existence might give its own black population unwelcome ideas.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Haiti became a byword for political absurdity and exotic brutality, with civil war after civil war and coup after coup, in the course of one of which a colonel uttered the immortal words to his soldiers: "*Mes enfants*, pillage in good order." One president, Soulouque, had himself elected Emperor, created 59 dukes, and—in an eerie anticipation of the coronation of the Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Republic—spent a huge amount on his own crown and

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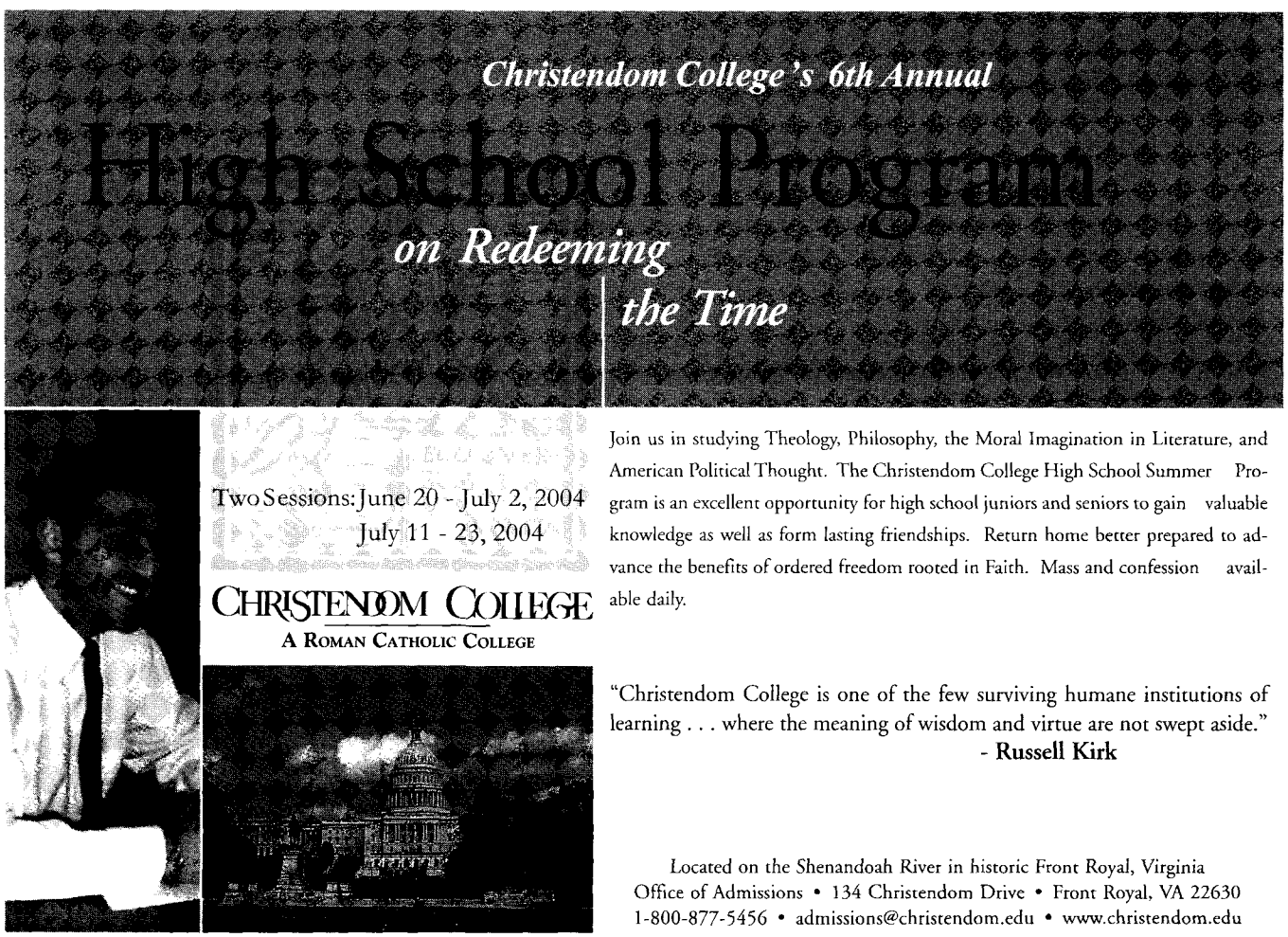
imperial paraphernalia. At the time, it was regarded as proof—if any were needed—that the black man could not reliably govern himself, and needed white tutelage. In 1884, the former British ambassador to Haiti, Sir Spenser St John, published a book full of agreeably lurid stories of "vaudoux and cannibalism," entitled *Hayti or The Black Republic*, which starts:

> Whilst in Port-au-Prince, a Spanish colleague once remarked to me, "*Mon ami*, if we could return to Hayti fifty years hence, we should find the negresses cooking their bananas on the site of these warehouses." . . . The negresses are in fact already cooking their bananas amid the ruins of the best houses of the capital . . . The country has . . . been steadily falling to the rear in the race of civilisation . . . Foreigners, nearly ruined by their losses during the constant civil disturbances, are withdrawing from the republic, and capital is following them; and with their withdrawal, the country must sink still lower. A country in ruins, civil disturbances, flight of capital: it all sounds very familiar.

The American occupation from 1915 to 1934 brought improvements to Haiti's infrastructure, but the country's political history since then has not been encouraging: New roads and hospitals do not add up to a new political culture. The old fault lines of Haitian society, which emerged once the revolutionary effort had been successful, remain as deep as ever: between the mulattos who control commerce, a rich black class opposed to them, and the great majority of impoverished peasants (many now town-dwellers). The black elite woos them from time to time in its struggle with the mulattos, as Papa Doc wooed the same elite; otherwise, the peasants are disregarded.

The human condition of Haiti grows ever more frantically desperate. It is not so much that the country is actually poorer in absolute terms than it was—for it was always very poor—or that (for example) the life expectancy of Haitians is much lower than before. The historically new quality of Haiti's desperation is the population's awareness of wealth and abundance elsewhere, thanks to the media of mass communication to which even the poorest people in the world now have access. If you read Haitian literature of the 20th century, it grows ever more angry and despairing as the century progresses, as the awareness that things could be different increases, although it is unlikely that poverty in the absolute actually worsened as the century progressed. If you look at the pictures of Haitians in our newspapers, they are better or more expensively dressed than they would have been years ago, but the human quality of their lives has declined catastrophically. Modernization without prosperity has transformed poverty into absolute misery. **NR**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NO MORE MR. NICE GUY

The death of George W. Bush's 'compassionate conservatism'

RAMESH PONNURU

In his first presidential campaign, George W. Bush had a number of campaign themes. The candidate said that he was a "reformer with results" and that he would "restore honor and dignity to the White House." The two most consistent themes, however, were associated with the catch-phrases "compassionate conservatism" and "changing the tone." As the president prepares to start his re-election campaign, it's fair to ask: What ever happened to this duo?

For Bush's Democratic opponents, the answer is simple: Bush's promises to govern compassionately and to change the tenor of American politics were misleading to the point of being lies. He has proven, in their view, to be a madly right-wing partisan. In truth, however, Bush's style of governance has been consistent with both promises. It has also revealed their limits.

Some of the confusion stems from disagreement about what compassionate conservatism is. Whether the phrase denotes a marketing slogan or a coherent philosophy of government has been disputed from the beginning. In some quarters, the phrase was taken to suggest that Bush stood for a less conservative, or at least less controversial, conservatism. This explains some of the grievance felt by liberals who discovered that President Bush had no intention of moving leftward on abortion or guns. He might not crusade for the unborn—neither had any of his predecessors as leaders of the Republican party—but he would not retreat from longstanding Republican positions either.

The idea that Bush would retreat from these positions was largely an invention of the national media. Because most journalists assume that most Americans share their views on social issues, and that the Republican positions are therefore political poison, they read the phrase "compassionate conservatism" as the opposite of a judgmental or moralistic conservatism.

"Compassionate conservatism" was an attempt to distance Bush from Newt Gingrich's Republican "revolutionaries"—but not with regard to social issues. The real contrast was that Bush was less hostile to federal activism, especially activism in behalf of minorities and the poor, and less inclined—here the "changing the tone" business came into play as well—to sharp ideological argument. The Bush Republicans, in short, were turning away not from conservatism's moral strain but from its libertarian one. Bush, in his best moments, was proposing not a surrender to the liberal definition of "compassion" but rather an attempt to wrest the moral high ground away from liberalism. Bush, according to his more philosophical supporters, was committed to using national power to promote choice, accountability, and other conservative themes—disrupting ossified programs and defeating entrenched interests that oppose reform, such as the teachers' unions. By abandoning limited government as an ideal, Bush would be able to stitch together a national majority capable of sustaining these reforms.

DO THE PROGRAMS WORK?

Many unreconstructed conservatives, who rejected the compassionate label for various reasons, did not look forward to Bush's attempted ideological remaking of the party. Most of them ended up supporting his candidacy anyway. If Bush would not himself shrink the federal government, perhaps his reforms would make it possible to shrink it in the future. That gamble may still pay off in a second Bush term, especially if a re-elected Bush tackles Social Security. But compassionate conservatism, both as a strategy and, especially, as a philosophy, is faring poorly these days.

The primary evidence for this condition consists of the political fate of the two major legislative accomplishments that were supposed to mark Bush as a different kind of Republican. These were his education bill and his Medicare bill. The first was supposed to

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Only one original proof coin is known to have been struck. Even the foremost rare coin experts were unaware of its existence until it was accidentally found deep in the vaults of the museum. America's foremost authority on U.S. gold coins, David Akers, has written, "the 1854-S Double Eagle is easily the most significant and desirable branch mint proof coin in existence". With the recent auction sale of one of the three 1933 St. Gaudens Double Eagles for $7.9 million, senior numismatist Nicholas Bruyer estimates the unique 1854-S Proof Double Eagle would bring at least $12 million if it ever becomes available at auction.

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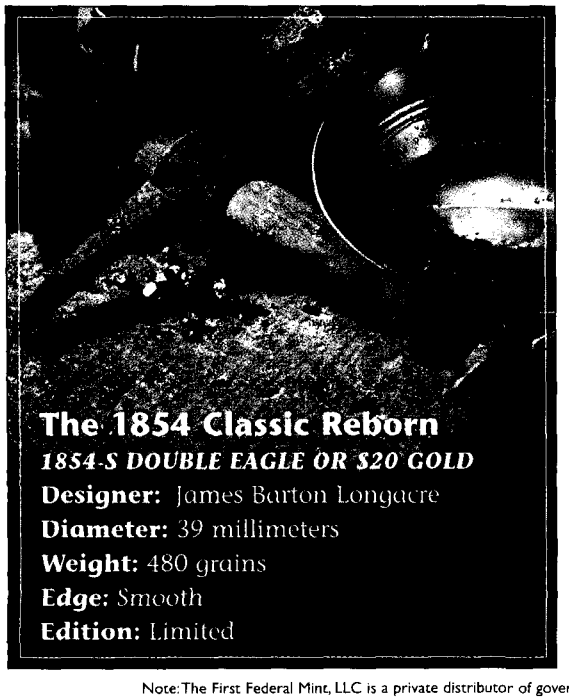

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differentiate him from the Dole-Gingrich Republicans, who had sought to abolish the Department of Education: Bush would instead impose standards and accountability on the nation's public schools, and the Department of Education would become an instrument of reform. The second was supposed to move a major entitlement in a free-market direction. Both were supposed to cement a national Republican majority.

It has not quite worked out. True, Bush was able temporarily to erase the Democrats' historic advantage on education issues by promising a bold reform. But now that his bill has been enacted, it is proving unpopular. So is the Medicare reform. As they survey the public reaction, many congressmen who voted for the education and Medicare bills are regretting their votes. Nobody who voted against them regrets his. The reforms have lost Bush conservative support without gaining him compensatory support from the center. They have thus flunked the superficial test of short-run popularity.

The deeper test would be whether these reforms will, in the long run, affect voter behavior in salutary ways. In theory, one might expect parents of schoolchildren, having learned—as a result of Bush's accountability standards—that their schools are subpar, to demand improvements. One might also expect that senior citizens, once exposed to a more market-friendly Medicare, will be less entitlement-minded in the voting booth. But these hopes are so far proving hollow, too. It turns out that middle-class parents who have invested serious money in getting their kids into schools with good reputations—and all such parents know what research confirms, that these reputations are factored into the price of homes—do not enjoy learning that their schools are not so good after all. Under the circumstances, shooting the messenger does not seem to them at all irrational.

Conservative supporters of the education bill claim that it has at least shifted the national debate from questions of spending to questions of standards. But the spending has hardly ceased its upward spiral. If President Bush's latest budget proposal goes through, federal spending on grade schools will have shot up by 66 percent in his first term. That spending, moreover, seems to have created a demand for still more spending rather than for higher standards. The political reaction to Bush's education standards has been a) to denounce them as too strict and b) to say that states need more federal money to meet them. It is not obvious that the ensuing debate has been an improvement on earlier ones.

The Medicare bill contained some elements that might in time make bolder conservative reforms possible. Chief among these elements was the introduction of health savings accounts, which may make health-care consumers more conscious of costs. But here, too, the immediate political reaction has been to complain that Bush's program is too stingy and to demand higher levels of subsidy. At least in the short run, the bill has done nothing to create a compassionate-conservative majority.

Two other proposals meant to identify Bush as a different kind of Republican—his "faith-based initiative" and his guest-worker proposal—have not yet passed Congress. The faith-based initiative was the policy that Bush highlighted as the centerpiece of compassionate conservatism. But Bush has had to retreat from legislation on the initiative in the face of objections from both liberals and conservatives. Bush has been left to do what he can through executive order. The immigration proposal has also faced a left-right buzzsaw. Worse, the public seems to oppose it. Since Bush announced his proposal in January, he has said little about the subject—which suggests that this bit of compassionate conservatism has also fizzled.

AN IDEA STUMBLES

Compassionate conservatism has hardly fared better as a philosophy than as a legislative program. There are still politicians who describe themselves as "compassionate conservatives," as there were such politicians before Bush came along. But hardly anyone who so describes himself means to associate himself with a particular philosophy, as opposed to a warm sentiment. President Bush himself uses the term less than he once did. And even those writers who tried to defend Bush's conservative credentials have not bothered to revive the phrase. Some of them, indeed, have resorted to the franker phrase "big-government conservatism."

And these people are clearly in the minority of conservative intellectuals. The vast majority of conservative writers, think-tank scholars, and activists have criticized the Bush administration's record on spending, sometimes harshly. Compare the attitude of the conservative movement today to its attitude eleven years ago. In 1993, the conservative world was debating whether to go with Jack Kemp or William Bennett: optimism or sternness; a focus on economics or one on culture. Neither one of them was particularly associated with the cause of limited government, and to some degree each of them seemed to be urging conservatives to reduce their emphasis on that cause. Very few small-government conservatives pushed back until, in 1994, two things happened. First, David Frum's book *Dead Right*, criticizing Kemp, Bennett, and other conservatives for forgetting the virtues of government-cutting, was published. Second, the Republicans won control of the House and Senate, seemingly on a small-government platform.

Compassionate conservatism has not conquered the Right, let alone the polity as a whole.

The effect of that second event was to instill a sort of libertarian giddiness in Republicans, which they soon came to regret. But the point remains: Contemporary conservatism has not reconciled itself to an ever-growing welfare state. President Bush's spending is facing resistance from conservatives. That resistance may not prove effective. But its mere existence means that compassionate conservatism has not conquered the Right, let alone the polity as a whole.

One reason that Bush does not talk about "compassionate conservatism" as much as he used to is the same reason that one does not read much these days about "the feminization of American politics." The reason is 9/11. After the attacks, as David Brooks wrote,

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Bush's public persona morphed from "compassionate conservative" to "courageous conservative." The same events changed the salience of the promise to "change the tone." The appeal of that promise was twofold. The public wanted leaders who are public-spirited and not prone to bicker mindlessly. That desire is as strong now, in wartime, as it was then; probably stronger. The public also wanted, especially after the Lewinsky scandal, for Washington to go away. After the attacks, however, the appeal of the fantasy that the nation could tune Washington out faded.

Democrats say that Bush's Washington is more sour than ever before. The Republican response is that it's the Democrats' fault: Bush extended his hand, and they bit it. Recent weeks have yielded two examples. On same-sex marriage, the president made his case and said that it was important for all Americans to show respect for people on all sides of the debate. John Kerry said that Bush was trying to divide people and to write discrimination into the Constitution for political purposes. Bush called Kerry to congratulate him for winning the primaries. Kerry, a few days later, said that Bush's campaign aides were a "crooked" and "lying group."

The president has been unusual in his reluctance to attack Democrats explicitly. He is much more likely to criticize "the Senate" for holding up his judicial nominees than to accuse "Senate Democrats" of doing so. Congressional Republicans have expressed some annoyance at this feature of the Bush presidency. Democrats think that he has merely hidden his partisanship: He may make few attacks in public, but he does everything he can to hurt the Democrats. But Bush did not promise to ignore the interests of his party, nor to put the interests of the nation as defined by liberals before those interests. He promised to "change the tone," and a change in presidential rhetoric is a change in tone. President Clinton responded to the Oklahoma City bombing by denouncing conservatives. This president has acted in a different way, even to the point of exasperating his allies. A certain irenicism can also be seen in Bush's reluctance to veto bills.

So can we conclude that Bush's promise has been kept? Not quite. The public could reasonably have interpreted his promise to mean that there would be more bipartisanship in Washington. Bush could not, by himself, make that happen even if he wanted to. If the Democrats want to obstruct him and deny him successes, there is not much he can do to change their behavior. But that is not an excuse for his failure to keep the promise so much as it is a criticism of him for making it in the first place. He should not have promised what cannot, in the nature of things, be delivered. So far, the fruits of compassionate conservatism and change-the-tone have been different forms of disillusionment among liberals, centrists, and conservatives.

Bush abandoned the compassionate-conservative theme twice during the 2000 campaign—both times in political extremis. After John McCain trounced him in the New Hampshire primary, Bush beat back McCain's insurgency by portraying himself as the more authentic conservative, period. In September, when Bush was behind Gore, he gave up the attempt to portray himself as beyond the old arguments of Left and Right and pounded Gore for being a big-government liberal. As the 2004 campaign gets underway, Bush again finds himself behind. If he comes back, I suspect it will have little to do with compassionate conservatism and more to do with negative attacks on John Kerry's liberalism. **NR**

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Bush Is the One

There is no choice—and he is not an echo, either

DAVID FRUM

THREE months before 9/11, George W. Bush faced one of the toughest decisions of his presidency: Should he honor his campaign promise to block federal funding for stem-cell research? On one side of the controversy were the united forces of business, medicine, the Democratic party, and even much of the Republican party. On the other side was only President Bush's word—and his conscience. I remember the struggle. I was there. I remember how the White House staff worked to devise formulas that would allow the president to escape his commitment without disavowing it. I even devised one myself.

But in the end, the president rejected all of these escape routes. Yes, he found a compromise—but it was a compromise that upheld his core principles. He would allow federal funding on those stem-cell lines that already existed—that is, he would allow American scientists to continue making use of those human embryos whose humanity had already been extinguished. Beyond that, however, he would not go. On his watch, no more federal money would go to pay for experiments premised on the destruction of potential human beings. President Bush took a huge political risk. He took it with his eyes wide open to the likely cost. He took it because he believed it was the right thing to do.

President Bush's many and ferocious political opponents understand very well why they hate and fear this president. George W. Bush almost singlehandedly wrecked their dreams of a huge and permanent expansion of the American welfare state.

At the Democratic convention in 2000, Bill Clinton explained what was at stake in that year's presidential election: "I have waited over . . . 30 years to see my country once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children." Translation: If we Democrats win this election, we're going to have some real money to spend! And when George W. Bush won the election instead—and passed a tax cut that returned the budget surplus to the people who earned it—he shut the door on the spending opportunity for which Clinton and the rest had been waiting for three hungry decades.

Then, after sending the surplus home, Bush did something even more maddening: He mobilized the fighting spirit of the United States after 9/11. Up until the terror attacks, liberals and Democrats hoped that the Bush presidency would be just a blip. Democrats regained control of the Senate in mid 2001. They

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expected to retake the House in 2002 and recapture the White House in 2004. So long as the voters ranked education and health care as their top concerns, Democrats could hope to dominate national politics.

By responding to 9/11 as an act of war, Bush restored national security to its proper place at the very top of national concerns. Republicans won a huge victory in the 2002 congressional elections—and Democrats suddenly looked desperately vulnerable for 2004. They had dismissed Bush as a boob and a bumpkin. But then, to borrow from John Edwards, he beat them and beat them and beat them again. No wonder the Democrats have gone half out of their heads.

AT WAR

And yet it is not only this president's political opponents who grumble against him. So do many of those who ought to be his supporters. What answer should be given them?

Start with the most basic: The United States is a country at war. Its leader must be a war leader. And from the first moments of this war, George W. Bush apprehended what had to be done, and how, and why. It was George W. Bush, first, who recognized that this war was indeed a war. Many American political leaders still are not sure about that seemingly obvious fact—including such leaders of the Democratic party as Sen. John F. Kerry. But Bush got it, and got it right away, and has never lost sight of this overwhelming truth.

War demands risk-taking—and this president has been willing to take the risks necessary to win. He discarded the military's first draft plan for the Afghan war because it was too ponderous and slow. He authorized a series of operations around the world, from the southern Philippines to this very hemisphere: These operations have captured or killed two-thirds of the al-Qaeda leadership and inflicted heavy damage on its cells everywhere.

President Bush laid down principles for the war that put governments everywhere on notice that state support for terrorism would no longer be quietly tolerated by the United States. Not all states have gotten the message, but some have, including Pakistan, which has quietly curtailed the terror groups in Kashmir. India and Pakistan are now negotiating on trade and other economic matters—leading to hopes that the world's most dangerous conflict may soon be calmed.

Above all, this president made the decision to liberate Iraq. His critics complain that the Iraq operation has led to surprises and disappointments. Well, unlike Holiday Inns, wars don't come with a no-surprise guarantee. There were surprises all the way to Richmond, surprises in the Argonne, surprises at Guadalcanal and Iwo Jima—and, yes, in Iraq too. And sometimes these surprises are pretty nasty. That's why war leadership requires perseverance and fortitude: qualities this president has proven he possesses in full measure. Most important, he has proven it at times when his opponents (and even some officials inside his own administration) were panicking and breaking.

If anybody other than George W. Bush had been president, the War on Terror would probably have sputtered inconclusively out in the hills of Afghanistan. We would now be engaged in an inconclusive police operation, probably under the auspices of the United Nations. The terror masters in Libya, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan would continue going about their business. And America would have disgraced itself before the world by responding to the death of 3,000 of its citizens in the same weak-willed way that it responded after the terror attacks of the 1990s.

THE ECONOMY

It's one of the unfairnesses of life that political leaders never get credit for the catastrophes they prevent. But just for the record, let's remember that in early 2001 many—maybe most—economists feared that the United States was about to collapse into a Japanese-style depression.

The dot-com bubble had burst. Consumers had piled up record debt. Energy prices surged; in California the lights went dark. The everybody-does-it attitude toward lying that Clinton defenders promoted on every cable show through the impeachment cri-

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sis was shown to have infected corporate America too. Formerly admired giant corporations went bankrupt, wiping out tens of billions of dollars of investor wealth and employee savings; executives were marched to prison in handcuffs. The bill for the complacency and irresponsibility of the 1990s had at last arrived.

Over eight years of fabulous prosperity, the man in the Oval Office had lacked the imagination and courage to take even one practical measure to shore up the nation's unsound retirement system—one step, that is, beyond repeating the preposterous fib that higher taxes in the 1990s would somehow solve the problem of too few workers for too many retirees in the 2030s.

This was the economy that was then hit by the blow of 9/11. Back in the 1990s, Americans had been told that after the Cold War they could look forward to a world of openness and peace. The Clinton administration had balanced the budget largely by slashing military spending to the smallest proportion of GDP since 1940. In one day, all of those cheery assumptions were exposed as illusions and lies. The cost of those lies has been staggering: billions to rescue the aviation industry; tens of billions to rebuild New York; hundreds of billions to restore the nation's defenses and internal security—and incalculably vast sums in lost confidence.

Measured by jobs created, the Bush economic record is not one to brag about. But measured by dangers overcome and by challenges accepted rather than dodged, the record is impressive. Taxes were cut—not a bait-and-switch cut, but a long-term cut, which the president is committed to making permanent. Important market reforms were introduced into Medicare. The president has committed himself to Social Security private accounts.

The economy is now growing at the fastest pace since the mid 1980s. The unemployment rate has been reduced to 5.6 percent—exactly the same rate as in early 1996, when the media were breathlessly repeating Bill Clinton's claim of the best economy in a generation. The stock market has regained the ground lost since 1999. Americans are better off today than they were when George W. Bush came into office—and much, much better off than they would have been under less bold economic leadership.

POLITICS

Conservatives complain that George W. Bush has deviated from the path of truth on issues from education to immigration. That is of course true. And liberals echo the charges of former White House staffer John DiIulio that the Bush administration puts more emphasis on politics than policy. There is considerable truth in this point too.

It is important however to understand *why* these charges are true. Conservatives won public-policy victories in the 1980s because they had created a new political majority in the 1970s. The GOP congressional landslide of 1994 was the last hurrah of this Nixon-Reagan-Gingrich majority.

The Republican party draws its strength from three key population groups: white Christians, especially southern Protestants; married families; and the upper-middle income group, stretching from about $75,000 to $150,000 a year. The Republican party is noticeably weak among the unchurched and the unwhite; among the unmarried; and among the poor and the rich. (In 2000, Gore beat Bush by 2 to 1 in the 4 percent of the electorate that calls itself "upper class." The top 4 percent begins at about $200,000 in household income.)

And guess what? The groups among which Republicans are weak are growing faster than the groups among which Republicans are strong—which may be why it has been 16 years since a Republican presidential candidate won more than 50 percent of the vote. The good news is that the shrinkage of the old Nixon-Reagan majority has not translated into a new Democratic majority. (It's been 28 years since a Democratic presidential candidate won more than 50 percent of the vote.)

But history suggests that sooner or later, one of the parties will assemble a coalition capable of winning majorities—and up until 9/11, the Democrats looked the likelier to succeed. The most urgent domestic task and responsibility facing the Bush administration has therefore been political: to regather a crumbling Republican majority by broadening the Republican coalition—just as Karl Rove's hero, William McKinley, saved the increasingly rickety Civil War coalition in 1896.

When history judges a president, it judges him not by the standards of a single party, but according to how he served the nation as a whole.

George W. Bush has been loyal to his party's core ideas. He cut taxes and battled regulation. He has kept faith with the pro-life and pro-family movement. But he has also shown himself willing to rethink old Republican doctrines in pursuit of his new majority. Some of his innovations are already succeeding: His education reforms are forcing positive change on resistant states. Other bold strikes have backfired, such as his restrictions on imports of steel (restrictions that he rescinded). But if this administration were not thinking all the time about how conservatism can adapt to survive in a new environment—then conservatism would not survive as a political force at all.

When history judges a president, it judges him not by the standards of a single party or even any one set of political principles. It judges him according to how he served the nation as a whole. It asks: Was he equal to the challenges of his time? Did he make wise decisions, brave decisions? Did he work for the good of the country over the long term—or did he take the easy way out in the nearest term? Did he live up to the country's best ideals—or indulge people's worst instincts?

By all these measures, George W. Bush has been a resolute and even heroic president in a terrifying time. He was the right man through slaughter and grief and war. He was the right man through economic turmoil. He is the right man for four more years. **NR**

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■ PUBLIC POLICY

Blowing It

The administration's spending is inexcusable, no matter what the White House spin

TAD DEHAVEN

To the chagrin of fiscal conservatives, the Bush administration is set to achieve a record of spending growth unseen since the era of Lyndon B. Johnson. In December, perhaps sensing that all was not well among the president's supporters, Joshua Bolten, his budget chief, energetically defended the administration in the op-ed pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, and then, in February, returned to the fray by testifying in front of the House Budget Committee. After scrutinizing his assertions, it's difficult not to conclude that the administration is spinning so hard on this one it's positively Clintonesque.

Take, for example, the claim we hear most often to justify spending growth: "Like America itself, the Federal budget has faced extraordinary challenges in recent years: a stock market collapse that began in early 2000; a recession that was fully underway in early 2001; revelation of corporate scandals years in the making; and of course, the September 11 attacks and ensuing War on Terror." In other words, "Hey, it's not our fault. First we were dealt bad cards and then we drew worse ones." It's true—but only up to a point.

Just as tax receipts exploded during the '90s boom, the reverse occurred when the economy slowed. While combined individual and corporate income-tax receipts increased at a blistering average annual rate of 10 percent for the first seven fiscal years of the Clinton administration, in FY2001 they dropped 5.5 percent, thereby coinciding with the beginning of the recession and the market collapse. So, yes, the storm hit before Bush's ascension to the White House. And then, worse, combined income-tax receipts sank another 12 percent and 8 percent in the first two years of his administration. By Bush's third year (FY2004), these receipts as a percentage of GDP were projected to be at their lowest levels since FY1950.

Democrats have seized upon the steep drop in federal revenues on Bush's watch as proof that his tax cuts are to blame for the switch from surpluses to deficits, but this dubious allegation avoids the real problem: Neither Congress nor the president attempted to offset reductions in revenues with reductions in spending. Although it was necessary to ramp up defense spending for the War on Terror, reasonable efforts should have been made to reduce—not just restrain—spending in less vital areas.

Which brings us to Bolten's second claim: namely, that "it is true that discretionary spending (the spending over which the president and Congress have control through annual appropriations) has risen substantially in the three most recent budget years. But more than three-quarters of that increase has been directly related to our response to 9/11, enhanced homeland security and the global war on terror."

But that "three-quarters" figure is not wholly accurate. While it's difficult to define *exactly* what constitutes homeland-security spending, the figures from the president's latest budget proposal seem to show that the increase in total discretionary spending belonging to non-defense, non-homeland security is approximately 37 percent. This means that discretionary defense and homeland-security spending represents only about 63 percent of the increase in total discretionary spending—a far cry from 75 percent plus.

The second problem with Bolten's claim lies in his comment that "discretionary spending [is] the spending over which the president and Congress have control through annual appropriations." Does that mean because discretionary spending accounts for only two-fifths of total spending (i.e., 38.3 percent for FY2003) the president and Congress have no control over three-fifths of the entire amount of money the federal government spends in a given year? No, though we might be forgiven for thinking so.

Federal spending is basically of two types: "discretionary" and "mandatory." The discretionary section is determined annually through the appropriations process. Defense spending accounts for roughly half of this discretionary spending. And, as already stated, all discretionary spending—defense and non-defense combined—amounts to two-fifths of the total budget. The other three-fifths of the total federal budget is "mandatory" spending (chiefly Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid). It takes a specific act of Congress to make changes to these programs. If no changes are made, these programs continue in accordance with the underlying law. This is the section of domestic spending that Bolten omits. The familiar argument for leaving this spending out is that politicians supposedly have less control over it—it's "mandatory," after all.

But this is untrue. For instance, Bush chose to *increase* mandatory spending by supporting and signing a $534 billion Medicare prescription-drug bill. Another example is the 2002 farm bill that offered the president a perfect opportunity to curb mandatory spending. In fact, prior to the legislation's passage, a Department of Agriculture study detailed many of the problems with federal farm programs. But instead of vetoing the bill, President Bush signed a bill that actually *expanded* the very same agricultural welfare programs criticized in the USDA document. The president could have very easily fought for changes in the structure and formulas that determine the amount of benefits being paid out of these "mandatory" programs.

To return to Bush's discretionary expenditures: Bolten avers that "in the last budget year of the previous administration (2001), discretionary spending unrelated to defense or homeland security soared by 15 percent. With the adoption of President Bush's first budget (2002), that growth rate was reduced to six percent; then five percent the following year; and four percent for the current fiscal year."

There is no doubt that these numbers have been massaged to put the administration's record in the best possible light. For example,

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over $200 billion in supplemental spending has been mysteriously omitted. And in any case, "curbing" discretionary spending unrelated to defense or homeland security does not make an enormous difference, as that category amounts to only 15-20 percent of the entire federal budget. Even more important, the immediate problem with this statement is that the budget director is talking about funding (budget authority) and not spending (outlays). The following definitions for outlays and budget authority come straight from the glossary of the president's budget produced by the very agency over which Bolten presides:

Budget Authority is the authority provided by law to incur financial obligations that will result in outlays.

Outlays are the amount of money the Government actually spends in a given fiscal year.

ALL ABOUT THE PIPELINE

To understand the difference, think of a pipeline. Budget authority is the money that is being funneled into the pipeline while outlays are what come out. Not every dollar of budget authority made available for a given fiscal year is actually spent that year. Budget authority may be made available for more than one year or even indefinitely. The rate at which budget authority converts into outlays in a fiscal year is referred to as the spendout rate. For instance, the total projected spendout rate for the next fiscal year is about 80 percent. This means that of the $2.4 trillion in proposed budget authority (funding), $1.9 trillion will end up as outlays for that year. The remaining outlays will come from budget authority already in the pipeline from fiscal years past. The portion of budget authority that doesn't become outlays will stay in the pipeline for future obligations.

So, why would the administration want to use budget authority instead of outlays? Simple: because the amount actually being spent by the Bush administration is rocketing into the stratosphere. This administration is trying to argue that it was Clinton who flooded the pipeline—particularly for non-defense, non–homeland-security discretionary spending. But the truth is, this administration hasn't bothered stemming the flow entering the pipeline.

Let's compare the average annual percentage increase in discretionary budget authority for the last three years of the Clinton administration with that of the Bush administration's first three years. Under Clinton it was 8 percent compared with Bush's 9.8 percent. Discretionary defense budget authority was 6.8 percent (Clinton) and 11.9 percent (Bush). Non-defense discretionary budget authority was 9.3 percent (Clinton) and 7.8 percent (Bush). Even if you subtract homeland security from the non-defense category, you're still going to come up with a figure that is nothing to brag about.

But let us even assume that the administration is absolutely correct: The previous administration filled the pipeline, and the resulting outlay figures reflect the excess. Would it not then follow that its successor should have fought for serious reductions in budget authority? The Bush administration did not, and thus it bears responsibility along with the Republican Congress for the largest increases in federal spending in two generations.

But Bolten has a ready explanation for such a financial posture. "To those who lament that the president hasn't vetoed a single spending bill, the response is simple: He hasn't needed to. Recently concluded negotiations on the latest appropriations bills, for example, reflect effective presidential and congressional leadership."

Clearly, beauty is in the eye of the beholder on this one. Bolten argues that the president hasn't vetoed a single spending bill because "he hasn't needed to." That's one way to look at it. Another is, the president hasn't vetoed a single spending bill because he hasn't *wanted* to. It is true that the Republican Congress shares the blame with the administration for excessive budget growth in recent years. However, Bush has signed every bill crossing his desk—including the huge prescription-drug and farm-subsidy bills. By way of contrast, President Reagan had already vetoed more than twenty bills at the same point in his administration.

Other representatives of the administration have claimed that the president's acquiescence on costly legislation reflects his desire to "change the tone" in Washington. This excuse is a reheated leftover from the 2000 campaign when Bush supporters fondly highlighted the then-governor's ability to work with Democrats in the Texas legislature. The problem is there's a big difference between a Texas Democrat and Ted Kennedy. Conservatives should have known that when Kennedy signed on to the president's No Child Left Behind education bill—minus the voucher provision—the next few years were going to be a long (and scary) ride.

The Bush administration bears responsibility along with the Republican Congress for the largest increases in federal spending in two generations.

Bolten makes one last assertion: Regarding "the president's spending policies, what the record shows is a commitment to national security—and restraint elsewhere. . . . There is room for more restraint, especially as the economy recovers, but this is hardly the record of a domestic-program spending spree."

Is this true? Let's look at the actual spending figures (outlays)—the best barometer of spending trends under Bush. The following is a listing of the four-year percentage increases in spending for selected agencies and categories as contained in the president's budget proposal for FY2005. Until the FY2004 and FY2005 figures are finalized, these numbers can only be estimated. Nevertheless, given probable multi-billion dollar supplementals for FY2004 and Congress's penchant for spending even more than the president requests, these figures are likely to be *underestimates* when all is said and done.

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Total Outlays: +28.8%
Total Discretionary: +40.8%
Total Defense Discretionary: +46.4%
Total Non-Defense Discretionary: +35.7%

Department of Agriculture: +20.3%
Department of Commerce: +22.7%
Department of Defense: +47.7%
Department of Education: +80.1%
Department of Energy: +37.7%
Department of Health & Human Services: +36.0%
Department of Homeland Defense: +107.1%
Department of Housing & Urban Development: +14.7%
Department of the Interior: +24.4%
Department of Justice: +26.7%
Department of Labor: +43.4%
Department of State: +49.2%
Department of Transportation: +19.6%
Department of the Treasury: +2.1%
Department of Veterans Affairs: +49.4%
Environmental Protection Agency: +12.0%
International Assistance Programs: +40.9%
Office of Personnel Management: +19.6%

When adjusted for inflation, all of the categorized spending tallies are the largest percentage increases since Lyndon Johnson. Moreover, the agency-level increases rank among the largest in 40 years. But Bolten is right about one thing: There is certainly more room for restraint—a lot more.

THE RIGHT'S REACTION

Conservatives are angry with the administration over its spending record, and they should be. Regardless of whether one considers the big-ticket items such as the prescription-drug entitlement or the smaller but still irksome proposals like the funding increase for the National Endowment for the Arts, this administration has made it clear that budgetary discipline is not a priority. The apparent logic from Day One was to appease conservatives with tax cuts and buy off everyone else.

But this political calculation is beginning to show signs of backfiring. The old adage that when you try to please everyone you end up pleasing nobody appears to be particularly relevant here. Already incensed by the administration's immigration plan and other perceived slights, some conservatives have decided to sit out the November elections. More ominous for the administration are polls indicating that groups they attempted to impress—such as the elderly—aren't pleased either.

Sadly, the latest budget release from the president doesn't indicate he's understood the message yet. The supposed highlight of the proposal is that it would cut the deficit in half within five years. This revelation was immediately met with skepticism from critics on both sides of the political spectrum—and rightly so. In fact, eerily reminiscent of the Clinton years, the spendthrift Republican Congress is already pushing their own proposals that would get the job done faster.

But the deficit is not the problem; it is merely a symptom. The real problem is that the era of big government is back, and it has been brought back—with a vengeance—by George W. Bush and the Republican party. **NR**

■ **APPRECIATION**

Our Last Cold War Casualty . . .

. . . and a hero of the age

JOHN J. MILLER

On New Year's Eve in 1984, a small group of U.S. soldiers decided to exploit the Soviet weakness for drunken revelry to get as close as they could to a T-80 tank in East Germany. The men weren't out on their own inebriated lark—they were part of a top-secret mission behind the Iron Curtain. A reporter once claimed that an Army major, Arthur Nicholson, was among them, though former colleagues insist he wasn't. It hardly matters. The result was an intelligence coup for the U.S., as one of the soldiers not only observed the Soviet tank but also sneaked inside and photographed its interior. Nicholson certainly knew about the operation, even if he wasn't directly involved. Within three months, however, he would be dead—very possibly as the victim of Soviet retaliation.

The name of the first man to die in the Cold War is well known, for better or worse. John Morrison Birch of Georgia was a Baptist missionary in China who assisted Lt. Col. James Doolittle after his daring bomber raid on Japan in 1942. Birch later enlisted as an intelligence officer; Chinese Communists executed him within days of Japan's surrender. In 1958, he became the namesake of the John Birch Society, a fringe group that saw Red everywhere it looked.

Arthur D. Nicholson was the last American to die in the Cold War, but he is hardly a household name. His killing in 1985 made headlines everywhere and led to weeks of finger-pointing between the U.S. and the USSR—before it was efficiently whisked away as an unfortunate incident that could not be allowed to disrupt delicate superpower relations. Yet those who knew him well did not forget. Every spring since Nicholson was laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery—in a place of high honor near the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and close to the grave of Joe Louis—a group of former comrades have gathered to remember a fallen hero of freedom. Much of Nicholson's work remains classified, yet a number of public documents as well as candid conversations with veterans who knew him make it possible to glimpse at his activities and those of his unit—and to learn untold stories of brave men who ventured everything to fight Communism.

IN THE HEART OF THE ENEMY

Nicholson was part of a unique organization called the U.S. Military Liaison Mission. Technically assigned to liaise with the commander-in-chief of Soviet forces in East Germany, the USMLM was a relic of the Potsdam conference, which deter-

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mined the fate of postwar Germany. The Allied powers had assigned representatives to one another in their various zones of occupation. The idea was to coordinate efforts and keep tabs on German disarmament and demilitarization. As the Cold War split East from West, the liaison officers continued keeping tabs—not on the Germans, but on each other. This odd arrangement remained in place throughout the Cold War, with each side valuing the information its men retrieved. In practice, it meant that for 44 years the U.S. was able to send a handful of military officers into East Germany on a daily basis to gather data on Soviet deployments, equipment, and personnel.

These licensed spies weren't allowed to go anywhere they pleased. Large sections of East Germany were designated off-limits. Because of their diplomatic immunity, however, they could behave in ways that would have gotten anybody else arrested for espionage. And with some 400,000 Soviet troops stationed in an area smaller than Tennessee—the largest contingent of Soviet forces outside the USSR—the USMLM enjoyed a target-rich environment for learning about Soviet capabilities and intentions.

Six months after the U.S. and the USSR agreed to establish these liaison missions in 1947, Arthur Nicholson was born in Mt. Vernon, Wash. The tall and ambitious son of a career naval officer, Nicholson entered the Army in 1969. Nick—as everybody called him—eventually enrolled in Russian-training programs. His fluency developed to the point where he qualified for the USMLM, which he joined in 1982. Perhaps more than any other officer at the mission, he enjoyed his forays into East Germany. When his commander reassigned him to a desk job, he complained for months until he was sent back into the field. At a memorial service in 1985, after a special act of Congress posthumously promoted Nick to lieutenant colonel, secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger described him as "consistently the most productive officer" in the USMLM.

More than a hundred times, Nick entered East Germany on a USMLM "tour," as the operations were called. In the early days of the USMLM, the group's chief function was to watch Soviet movements and warn of possible attacks on Western Europe. As air and space surveillance improved, this role diminished and the liaison officers focused their efforts on studying the Soviet order of battle and making close-hand observations of military hardware. They followed convoys, watched rail yards, and monitored river crossings. They carried no weapons, but an array of binoculars, cameras, and notebooks. "I never doubted that the Soviets would use tactical nuclear weapons in an actual conflict because I saw with my own eyes that tactical nuclear weapons were part of their training," says John A. Fahey, who served with the USMLM in the 1960s. "I could follow Soviet war-game maneuvers by looking for the little mushroom puffs that were meant to simulate detonations."

Tour assignments often included mundane objectives such as snatching a telephone book from a remote area. "High-risk adventure was not a large part of what we did," says Paul Nelson, a retired Army colonel. Like a good beat cop who knocks on hundreds of doors to solve a crime, however, the officers could make a breakthrough by pursuing the mundane—so nothing was ignored. One of the USMLM's most inglorious activities was collecting trash that Soviet soldiers discarded. Because toilet paper was scarce, the Red Army tended to use whatever was handy, from military newspapers that provided details on individual units to (much more rarely) maps and pages from field manuals. These items were then delivered to experts for review and appraisal. "We went through a lot of material with masks and rubber gloves," recalls Mike Cakora, a Russian linguist at the Army Field Station in Berlin in the 1970s. As USMLM veterans like to joke, intelligence is a dirty business.

Despite this drudgery, USMLM duty had moments of intense excitement, often centering on the souped-up cars and jeeps the liaison officers raced around East Germany. The first challenge of any tour was to lose the East German secret police—the Stasi—who tried to tail them. This frequently involved 90 m.p.h. chases and hairpin turns, sometimes at night without headlights or brake lights. Next came a test of four-wheel-drive endurance, as USMLM vehicles often drove down pockmarked forest trails and across fields. They carried 40-gallon gas tanks, heavy-duty shock absorbers, and food for several days. Front-mounted winch cables saved many officers from having to abandon vehicles stuck in slurping pools of mud. The goal was to reach a location unobserved and study what was there, from airfield take-offs to the rotation speed of radars. Much could be learned in the unrestricted parts of East Germany; more could be learned elsewhere. "We did all kinds of things they didn't permit," says Lawrence Kelley, a retired Marine colonel. Soviet and East German soldiers were warned to be on the lookout for USMLM officers, who were required to wear distinctive patches on their sleeves and attach bright yellow license plates to their vehicles. They were often caught and detained, then questioned and released. Old hands called it getting "clobbered." Nick was clobbered three times.

Snooping around Soviet military facilities was hardly risk-free—and getting clobbered sometimes meant getting off easy. About seven times a year, USMLM personnel were fired upon. Occasionally these were nothing more than warning shots, but at other times the bullets were meant to kill. According to one declassified source, gunfire hit USMLM vehicles no fewer than six times in the years before Nicholson's death. In one close call in 1973, East German guards shot up a USMLM vehicle. A bullet pierced the driver's door and passed through the tip of his boot without actually hitting his foot.

ACCIDENTALLY ON PURPOSE

Yet gunfire was not the biggest occupational hazard. Liaison officers were much more threatened by the enemy's practice of ramming large military trucks into smaller USMLM vehicles. In 1979, a USMLM team was passing a radar outpost when an East German truck charged out of a barracks gate and slammed into their side. The USMLM vehicle skidded off the road and flipped

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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over twice. The tour officer suffered serious injuries; the East Germans called the whole thing an accident, as they always did.

Many of the crashes were actually planned by the Stasi. On March 22, 1984, Philippe Mariotti, an officer with the French Military Liaison Mission, was driving through Helle-Lettin when an East German truck smashed into his vehicle and killed him. As German historian Matthias Heisig proves in a booklet soon to be published by the Allied Museum in Berlin, Mariotti's death was a homicide. Heisig has located a Stasi document describing the operation, in which the vehicles of Allied missions "are to be hindered in their reconnaissance" and "are to be offensively disturbed." Heavy military trucks were positioned around a set of barracks, Mariotti's movements were carefully tracked, and then the deadly trap was sprung. The East Germans later claimed that Mariotti was drunk and demanded that France reimburse them for the damage their truck suffered in the lethal collision.

On March 24, 1985, almost exactly one year after Mariotti's death, Arthur Nicholson left Potsdam with his driver, Army Staff Sergeant Jessie Schatz, on a bright Sunday morning. That afternoon, they followed a convoy of Soviet tanks returning from target practice. This was a typical USMLM activity: Nick was probably counting the tanks and studying their exteriors. He and Schatz were near Techentin, close to the site of the USMLM's feat on New Year's Eve. USMLM officers had been scouring that area because they wanted to check out some expected new Soviet tanks.

Raising himself on an elbow, Nick shouted: 'Jessie, I've been shot!' Then he collapsed.

At some point, the two Americans broke away from the convoy and headed for a tank shed off the main road. They looked around for sentries and saw none. Then they approached to within 200 yards of the building. Nick left the vehicle and snapped a few photos. He got back in and Schatz drove to within ten yards of the shed. Nick got out again and moved toward a window. As was the standard practice, Schatz remained in the vehicle with its engine running. It was a few minutes before 4 o'clock.

As Nick was peering through the window, Schatz spotted a Soviet guard emerging from a wooded area nearby. This was Aleksandr Ryabtsev, a junior sergeant whose appearance meant it was time for the USMLM team to quit the scene. As Nick turned around to get back in the car, the young Soviet lifted his AK-47 and squeezed off a shot that narrowly missed hitting Schatz in the head. Nick was now sprinting toward him. Ryabtsev took aim and fired two more shots.

One of them hit. Nick crashed into the ground. Raising himself on an elbow, he shouted: "Jessie, I've been shot!" Then he collapsed. Schatz reached for his first-aid kit and flashed its red cross at Ryabtsev, but the sentry kept his gun trained on Schatz and refused to let him leave the vehicle. Nick lay on the ground bleeding, unattended. More than an hour passed before anyone so much as took his pulse. By then he didn't have one. It is impossible to know whether Schatz might have saved him. Although Soviet medics insisted that Nick died instantly, American examiners later determined in an autopsy that he had lived at least for a few minutes after the bullet struck.

The Soviets refused to accept any blame. "All responsibility for this lies completely on the American side," said Soviet general Mikhail Zaitsev on April 9. He added that Nick had been in an area off limits to the USMLM (not true) and was wearing camouflage (true, but irrelevant). Zaitsev even said that Schatz refused to leave his vehicle to help Nick—an outrageous claim.

The Soviets had trouble getting their story straight. By one account, Nick broke open a metal grate and took pictures inside the shed. Another said that he merely looked through an opening. More troubling, the Soviets also claimed that Ryabtsev could not determine Nick's identity, despite the patch on his sleeve and the yellow plates on his vehicle. This was contradicted by yet another Soviet allegation: Ryabtsev was forced to shoot because USMLM officers liked using their vehicles as weapons—an ironic accusation coming from the killers of Mariotti. "We must conclude," said U.S. Army General Glenn Otis in a tense meeting with Zaitsev, that Nick's death "is officially condoned, if not directly ordered."

Had such an incident occurred during the Berlin airlift or the Cuban missile crisis, it could have had much greater consequences. Yet the American response was subdued, in large part because Mikhail Gorbachev had assumed the Soviet leadership just two weeks earlier and strategists were still assessing him. There was a demand for an apology and compensation for Nick's widow. A Soviet diplomat was ordered out of the U.S. and the Pentagon canceled some joint U.S.-Soviet plans to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. When a reporter suggested to President Reagan that he had not expressed outrage over Nick's death, Reagan said, "A lack of outrage? You can't print what I'm thinking." Still, many Cold Warriors considered the protests mild. "The Reagan administration's response to this crime," wrote George Will, "has been to treat it like a traffic accident covered by no-fault insurance."

Indeed, the traffic accidents didn't stop. A few months later, Col. Roland Lajoie suffered a fractured eye socket when a five-ton Soviet truck rammed his vehicle from behind. In 1987, Soviet soldiers fired on USMLM personnel taking pictures near an airfield; a bullet fragment hit an Air Force sergeant in the left arm. In 1988, owing to Gorbachev's liberalization, the Soviets apologized for Nicholson's killing. (They still refused to compensate his wife and daughter.) Five years ago, retired Army Col. Stuart A. Herrington claimed in a book that James W. Hall, a U.S. warrant officer in Berlin who was on East Germany's payroll, confessed to giving his handlers information on the USMLM's tank photography on New Year's Eve—information that almost certainly would have made it back to Soviet guards in the form of harsh warnings that their sloppy security must improve.

This year, Nick's former colleagues are meeting for the 19th time at his grave; others are gathering in Berlin for a special exhibit at the Allied Museum. Someone ought to start an Arthur D. Nicholson Society. **NR**

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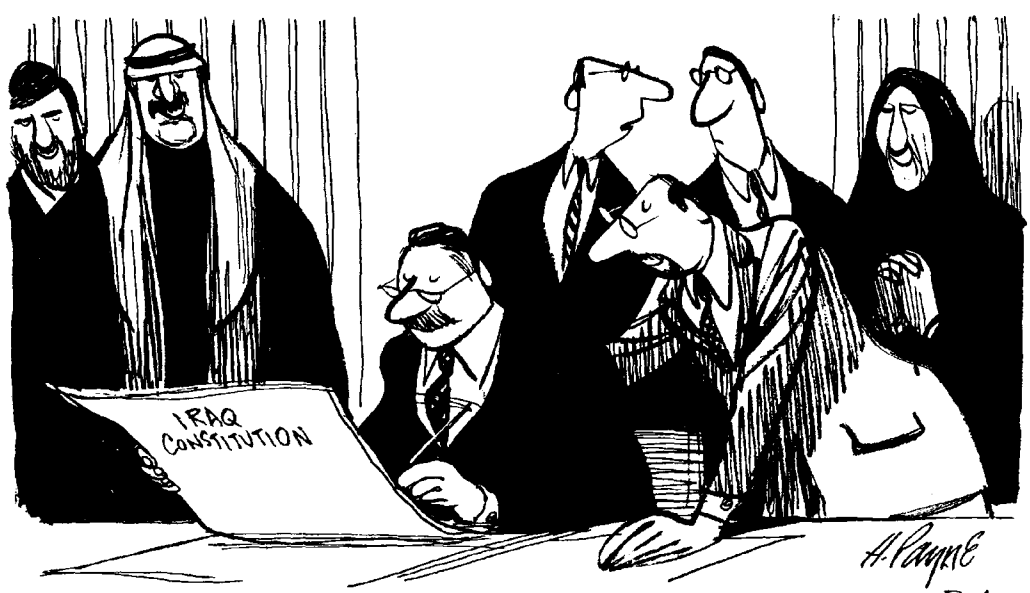

"THE IMPASSE IS OVER. THEY AGREED TO REMOVE THE AMENDMENT DEFINING MARRIAGE."

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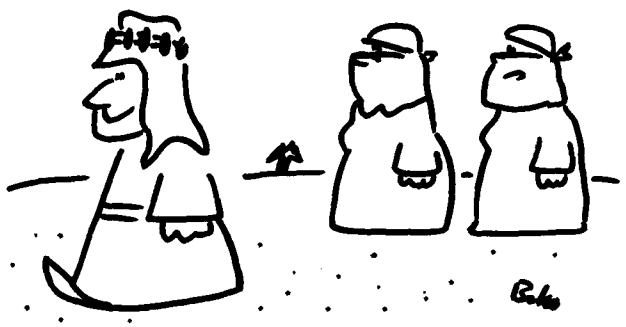
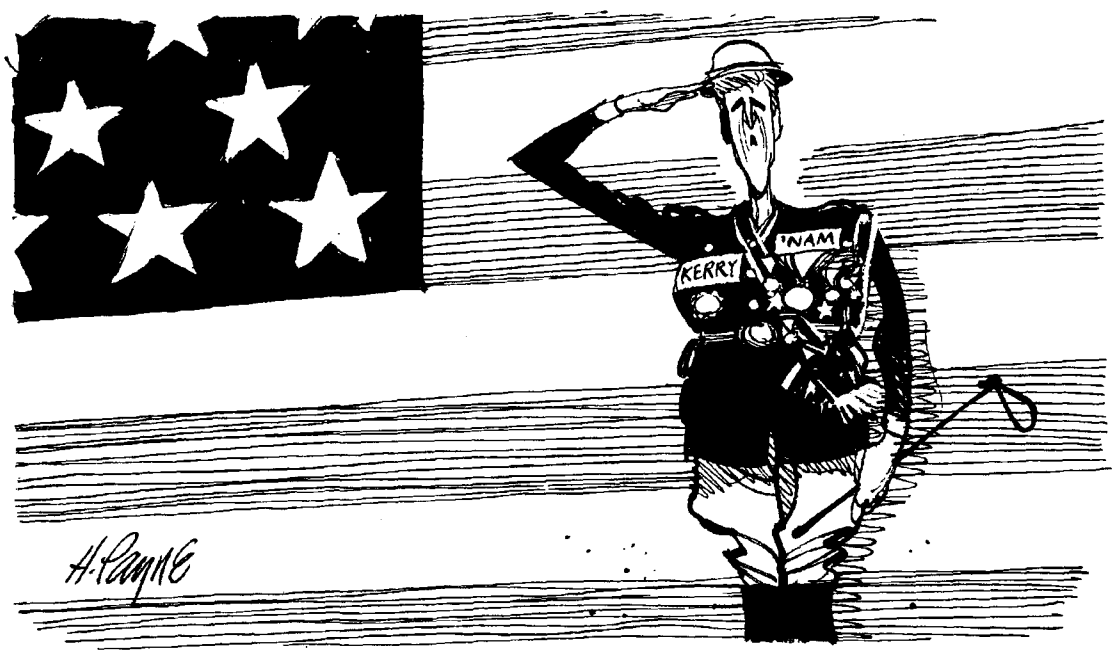
Uneasy Dems

The nominee's named; April looms,
Along with May, June, and July.
Teresa is loaded, but John
Can't milk the estate—maybe why
McAuliffe's so testy: The race
He front-loaded runs like a yawn.
In Chappaqua, Bill and Hill scheme
For one more egg-roll on the lawn.

—W. H. von Dreele



"All the good ones are already married four times."



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"I AM SHOCKED PRESIDENT BUSH IS EXPLOITING 9/11 FOR POLITICAL GAIN!"

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the long view

ROB LONG

Transcript:
Larry King Live
2004 Presidential Debate
October 23, 2004

LARRY KING: "We're back from the break with President George Bush and Senator John Kerry. Fellas, we've had some pretty good back-and-forth here, some interesting stuff, but I'd like to switch gears, if I may. Senator, you've said before that you enjoy poetry and actually write poetry . . ."

SENATOR KERRY: "That's right, Larry. I work in both metered rhyme and free verse."

LARRY KING: "Would you favor us, Senator, with a couple of lines?"

SENATOR KERRY: "I'd be happy to."

PRESIDENT BUSH: "What the hell?"

LARRY KING: "Sir, you'll get a chance to discuss your poetry in a moment. Senator?"

SENATOR KERRY: "I wrote this one when I was saving the lives of my crewmen in Vietnam . . ."

LARRY KING: "You mean right after?"

SENATOR KERRY: "No, during, actually. I was composing it as I led them all to safety. And then, later, recuperating with my Purple Heart, I jotted down the words."

LARRY KING: "Can we hear a snippet?"

SENATOR KERRY: "Larry, you can hear the whole damn thing!"

[laughter]

PRESIDENT BUSH: "You know, I'm kind of busy. Is it going to be poetry from here on out? 'Cause if it is, I gotta bail."

SENATOR KERRY: "Hark! The stillness of a jungle lair betrays / Its deathly cloistered maze. / The boys look to me and my fire and steel / To save them from becoming a maggot's meal. / And so without pause or stop for breath / I sit upon the face of death."

LARRY KING: "Intense."

SENATOR KERRY: "I like to think so. Of course, it was a searing experience for me, and for all of those who served and received the Purple Heart, as I did in Vietnam, when I served there. And received the Purple Heart. In Vietnam. Where I served."

PRESIDENT BUSH: "Quick question: Did you serve in Vietnam?"

LARRY KING: "Mr. President, do you have any verses you'd like to share with us?"

PRESIDENT BUSH: "Larry, this may come as a surprise to you, but I don't actually write poetry."

LARRY KING: "You don't dabble?"

PRESIDENT BUSH: "No."

LARRY KING: "Free verse?"

PRESIDENT BUSH: "Nope."

LARRY KING: "Little rhyming couplets?"

PRESIDENT BUSH: "Negatory."

LARRY KING: "Journaling? Do you journal?"

PRESIDENT BUSH: "No sir."

SENATOR KERRY: "I do a great deal of journaling, Larry. It helps me sort through the complexities and nuances of the world around me."

LARRY KING: "Santa Cruz, California! You're on the air! What's your question?"

CALLER: "Am I on?"

LARRY KING: "What's your question, caller?"

CALLER: "I guess I'm interested in Senator Kerry's use of death imagery in his poem, and, I think, in a post-structuralist sense, if he feels that his use of the quote unquote jungle symbolizes the fear of the Other, or exactly what."

LARRY KING: "Senator Kerry, do you fear the Other?"

SENATOR KERRY: "No, Larry, I do not. I embrace the Other. I want to work with the Other, and repair our frayed relationships with the Other. In fact, many of the Other have reached out to me in this campaign and have privately told me that they want me to win. But be that as it may, the jungle in that poem, which, incidentally, is a fragment of a larger work, symbolizes to me at least that part of ourselves that we don't understand, or that we fear. So it really isn't the Other so much as Ourselves."

LARRY KING: "President Bush? Response?"

PRESIDENT BUSH: "Honestly, Larry, I've never been so bored in my life."

SENATOR KERRY: "That's the whole problem with this administration, Larry. They're bored of poetry. And once you're bored of poetry, then you're bored with the entire process of discussing and debating and deliberating meaning and language in a formal and academic way, and I think the American people know that."

PRESIDENT BUSH: "Not getting this at all. Are we done here?"

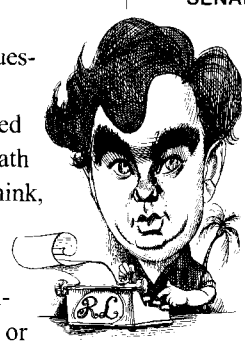
SENATOR KERRY: "I have another poem, Larry, which I'd like to recite. It's a bit of a departure for me. Most of my work centers around big themes—life, death, redemption, Vietnam, where I served, the Purple Heart, which I received . . ."

LARRY KING: "What's this one about?"

SENATOR KERRY: "It's for Teresa. It's a love poem. Let me do just a couple of lines . . ."

LARRY KING: "We're coming up to a break, Senator."

SENATOR KERRY: "It's quick, Larry. And it's very cute. It goes a little like this. 'You and me, we're a pretty great matchup / In piles of houses and gold and ketchup. / You give me houses and boats and walls full of art— / The least I can give you is my friend's Purple Heart.'"



LARRY KING: "Very cute."

SENATOR KERRY: "I think so. I think it shows my human side."

PRESIDENT BUSH: "How about this one? 'There once was a guy named Horatio, / Who enjoyed the act of . . .'"

LARRY KING: "Mr. President, I think you may have violated the new broadcast decency standards. We've got to go to a break."

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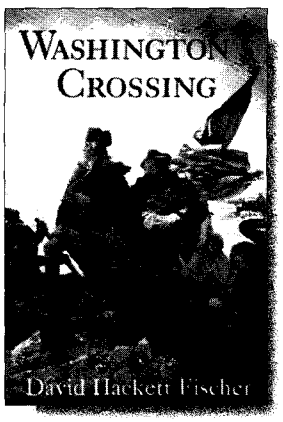
A New Kind of Army



Washington's Crossing,
by David Hackett Fischer
(Oxford, 564 pp., $35)

MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

FIFTEEN years ago, David Hackett Fischer published an extraordinarily illuminating book called *Albion's Seed*, which traced the influence of a number of British "folkways" in America. One of these folkways was of great importance in the settlement of Virginia: Among its early settlers were many distressed Cavaliers, fugitives from the rule of the Long Parliament and Oliver Cromwell in the 1640s and '50s. Not exactly "folk," they sprang from the prosperous gentry of the south and west of England, and the lower Midlands. This region remained loyal to King John in 1215 and was the last stronghold of the royalists in 1643; many of its constituencies voted Tory in Gladstone's liberal landslide of 1880. It is the country in which Jane Austen's novels are set, the country of Trollope's Barsetshire and Hardy's Wessex. Feudal traditions of deference remained stronger here than in much of the rest of England, as did other vestiges of aristocracy. (The southern and western shires contained the largest proportion of deer parks in the kingdom.) From this country came the "topping" families of old Virginia, families like the Lees (Shropshire), the Berkeleys (Gloucestershire and Somerset), and the Randolphs and the Washingtons (Northamptonshire).

Very different was the folkway that took root in New England. Many of the early settlers of Massachusetts came from the east of England. Unlike the west country, the eastern counties had a large population of small freeholders. These eastern freemen were jealous of authority and disposed to challenge established power: Jack Straw rose up in Suffolk, Robert Kett in Norfolk. The Peasants' Revolt of the 14th century was fiercest in the east of England; and two centuries later the easterners zealously embraced the Reformation. If the western shires were strongly attached to the Church of England, the eastern counties were the school of the Puritans, and from them came the leaders of primitive Massachusetts. John Winthrop's manor was in Suffolk; the Hutchinsons, Storys, Marburys, and Quincys came from the country near the Wash.

Fischer has now written another important book, *Washington's Crossing*. In it he asks how the products of the antagonistic regional cultures he traced in *Albion's Seed* overcame their differences to defeat the mightiest war machine of the 18th century, the British Army. How did Virginians and Massachusetts men—so unlike each other in customs, education, and traditions—come to fight, not as Southerners and New Englanders, not as Cavaliers and Roundheads, but as Americans? Part of the answer to this question, Fischer suggests, lies in the choices made by the commander-in-chief of the American forces, George Washington.

In the summer of 1776 a vast armada sailed into New York Harbor. More than 100 full-rigged ships carried 23,000 British regulars and 10,000 German soldiers. At the time, Fischer writes, "it was the largest projection of seaborne power ever attempted by a European state." On August 22 warships opened fire on what is now Brooklyn and 15,000 troops came ashore. What followed during the next four months was, Fischer writes, "a cataract of disaster" for the Americans. First Long Island fell, then Manhattan. Soon much of New Jersey and Rhode Island was also in British hands. The conquerors "in a most insulting manner sounded their bugle horns as is usual after a fox chase." Washington himself appeared shaken and bewildered.

Washington's Crossing tells the story of how Washington, to use his own words, "turned the Tables" on his British adversaries, created a new kind of American fighting force, and retrieved his country's fortunes. Washington was himself a product of Virginia and "very conscious," Fischer writes, "of social rank." He urged his steward at Mount Vernon to keep social inferiors "at a proper distance," otherwise "they will grow upon familiarity, in proportion as you sink in authority." Washington might not have been such a stickler for discipline as Lt. Col. Martinet, the French drillmaster; but he was disgusted by the laxity of the New England soldiers. "They are an exceeding dirty and nasty people," he wrote, and he deplored their "levelling spirit."

This changed. Washington learned to work with the quick-witted Yankees. Col. Henry Knox, a Boston bookseller, became one of his must trusted advisers. Washington learned, too, that the threat of the lash was not the most efficient way to inspire an American army. He never abandoned his Virginia (Cavalier) standards of honor; instead, Fischer suggests, he turned the old feudal ideal into a practically democratic one. When, under heavy fire, Washington, careless of his own life, "took control of the battle" at Princeton, he addressed the Philadelphia artisans and mechanics who were in the thick of

Mr. Beran is the author of *Jefferson's Demons*.

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it not as subordinates but as comrades-in-honor: "Parade with us, my brave fellows! There is but a handful of the enemy, and we will have them directly."

Washington learned and adapted; the British commanders did not. Admiral Lord Richard "Black Dick" Howe ruled the seas; his brother, General Sir William Howe, commanded the ground forces. They were both Whig aristocrats, both old Etonians; their mother was said to be the natural daughter of George I, and their intimacy with the royal family strengthened their prospects. Yet they were brave and competent officers in their own right. In the Seven Years' War, Black Dick sailed into Quiberon Bay and crippled two French ships of the line; at Quebec Sir William led a platoon up a treacherous path to the Plains of Abraham. The Howes' second in command, Sir Henry Clinton, was another characteristic product of the Whig ascendancy. The grandson of the sixth earl of Lincoln, Clinton was connected by blood or marriage to many of the great Whig families. His career had accordingly prospered, with early commissions in the elite regiments attached to the royal household.

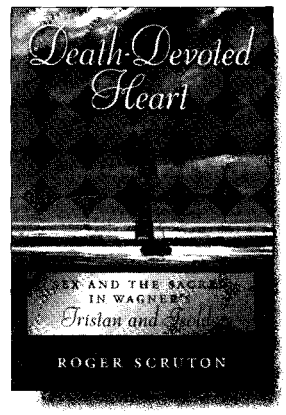
These Whig grandees were paradoxical creatures: liberal in outlook, dedicated to the principles of the Revolution of 1688, partial to enlightened schemes of reform, yet insisting always on the prerogatives of their caste. Few of the Whig magnates personified the paradox more thoroughly than Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis, second earl Cornwallis. He was, Fischer writes, "one of the most appealing figures of his generation." Like the Howes, he was a product of Eton; and before he took up his commission in the Grenadier Guards he studied military science at Turin. He served with distinction in India and in Ireland, where he resigned as viceroy when George III balked at emancipating Catholics.

Yet this liberal and tolerant officer had been bred a Whig lord, and he was zealous for military hierarchies. The Whig magnifico in Cornwallis told against him on the eve of the battle of Princeton. At the British council of war, Cornwallis laid down the plan, invited no criticism, and rejected out of hand advice to move immediately against Washington. This was a fatal error. Across the Assunpink Creek, the American council of war proceeded very differently. Washington came to the table with no preconceived plan. He gave his officers permission to speak freely. From their counsels emerged a strategy as brilliant as Cornwallis's was dull—and as bold as the earlier decision to cross the Delaware at Christmas and surprise the Hessians at Trenton. The new plan called for the Americans to go behind Cornwallis's back, march at once to Princeton under cover of darkness, and attack the unsuspecting British forces there. Even Horace Walpole was startled out of his supine cynicism. Washington's "march through our lines," he wrote, "is allowed to have been a prodigy of generalship."

Washington addressed the Philadelphians not as subordinates but as comrades-in-honor: 'Parade with us, my brave fellows! . . . We will have [the enemy] directly.'

In praising the heroism of Washington and his men, Fischer has broken with his brethren in the academy, and at the end of *Washington's Crossing* he gently reproves them. "In the late twentieth century," Fischer writes, "too many scholars tried to make the American past into a record of crime and folly." But Fischer never falls into the converse sin of unintelligent hero-worship; he has as deep a feeling for the historical and cultural roots of American character as any historian now at work. He writes, too, with an urbanity remote from the provincialism of the academy. At Oxford in the 1980s, Fischer benefited from the conversation of Lord Blake, the great Tory historian and biographer of Disraeli; and Fischer's own work has something of Blake's ease and elegance. In *Washington's Crossing* Fischer has produced a model of modern historical writing. **NR**

The Sickness Unto Death



Death-Devoted Heart: Sex and the Sacred in Wagner's Tristan and Isolde, by Roger Scruton (Oxford, 248 pp., $25)

THOMAS HIBBS

TOWARD the end of Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*, Tristan tears a bandage from his body and thus allows the life to flow out of himself. For Wagner, the act represents Tristan's free embrace of a sacrificial death, the decisive testimony of his love for Isolde and his desire for a union so absolute that it can be realized only in death. In Wagner's depiction of erotic love as a kind of sickness unto death, Roger Scruton finds not just a masterpiece of music, but also a remedy for what ails the modern world—a "morbidly unheroic world," dominated by "cost-benefit calculation," which tempts us to regard our own existence as nothing more than a "cosmic mistake."

The remedy for our temptation to banal self-interest and despair is, in the surprisingly Kantian language Scruton deploys, for us to "live as if a heroic love were possible, and as if we could renounce life for the sake of it." The central problem with Scruton's ambitious thesis has to do with the Kantian way in which he frames our redemption through art. The difficulty

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concerns whether we can achieve redemption by embracing what we know to be a fiction, a human construct. That is the burden of living "as if."

Yet Scruton has such a deft sense of the important questions, and wears his erudition so lightly and exhibits it with such clarity and concision, that, even where one disagrees sharply with the argument, one cannot but be grateful for all the avenues of thought his marvelous little book opens up. Indeed, Scruton combines interdisciplinary range with technical clarity in a manner rare among contemporary authors.

Scruton does not succumb to the mistake of making the music or poetry of *Tristan* a mere vehicle of philosophical speculation. The book contains entire chapters of brilliant analyses of music; even where he discusses character, dialogue, plot, or philosophy, Scruton is habitually and meticulously attentive to the opera's music. He focuses on the role of musical themes or motives, "fragments of music with a memory." For Beethoven, motives, once introduced, served to "generate the background pulse" of the musical drama and to keep divergent threads alive as subplots; similarly, for Wagner, the notes of the famous Prelude, with its distinctive Tristan Chord, do not so much prepare or introduce as they set in motion the action of the drama "by purely musical means."

Wagner was able to meld the musical, the literary, the philosophical, and the theological partly owing to the elevated stature of aesthetics and music in late-18th- and early-19th-century philosophy. Schopenhauer, for example, considered music the most powerful of the arts. Wagner relied on Schopenhauer, but faulted him for seeing the bonds between individuals as illusory, merely epiphenomena of the primordial reality of the Will, which is interested not in individuals but in the species. For Wagner, this eliminates the very essence of erotic love: the particular and personal object of desire.

In *Tristan*, circumstances do not favor this love. Tristan and Isolde are on opposite sides in battle; indeed, in their first meeting, which precedes the action of the drama, Isolde herself discovered that an injured man whose small boat carried him to the coastline of her home in Ireland is Tristan, the slayer of her betrothed. Planning to exact revenge, she stood with sword raised over the sick Tristan; then he opened his eyes and they became eternally bound. The mutual gazing of "The Look," to which Wagner ascribes a particular musical motif that recurs throughout the drama, prompts in Tristan and Isolde a soul-shattering discovery that drives the action.

This bears some superficial resemblance to the star-crossed-lovers plot of *Romeo and Juliet*, but *Tristan* is not a tragedy. Scruton draws a nice contrast between the heroes of classical tragedies, who are ensnared by outside forces, and Wagner's erotic heroes, whose snare is of their own making, an affirmation of desires arising from their inmost being. In their free and self-conscious embracing of erotic desire, the lovers seek and achieve a transcendent union with no correlate in the empirical world. Once again, Scruton uses Kantian

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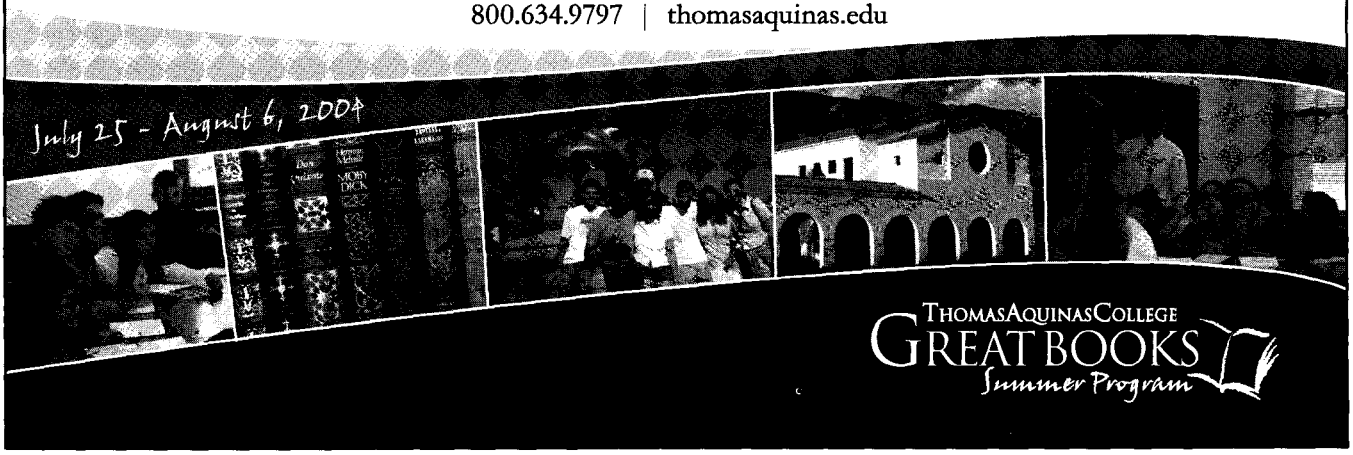

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language—in this case, the dichotomy between the deterministic world of experience and the realm of freedom.

In contrast to the sacramental marital bond, which bends erotic desire to the task of reproduction and underpins rather than subverts the social order, Wagner focuses on the sacred moment of erotic consummation. He does this, writes Scruton, "to show us that it is indeed sacred, and to reawaken in us a knowledge that the erotic is . . . an aspect of our freedom and an avenue of redemption." This account of erotic desire puts Wagner and Scruton at odds with Freud, whose depiction of sexuality Scruton views as "transformed by a kind of scientistic prurience, and by an obsession with the human object that clouds awareness of the subject."

Against the abstract, bloodless, and calculating reason of modernity, Wagner sought to revive through art a distinctively pre-modern and originally religious conception of the world—in which, Scruton notes, "rituals, oaths, acts of heroic sacrifice" are not adventitious intrusions but are woven into the very fabric of communal life. Despite Scruton's eloquent plea, however, the rehabilitation of modern humanity through art is deeply problematic. There is the obvious problem with Wagner's peculiar way of framing our path to redemption, the problem of how we are to understand the intimate connection between erotic desire and death, an insistence that can, as Scruton himself is aware, become easily twisted into a macabre celebration of the self-destructive pursuit of whatever is forbidden.

Moreover, Wagner and Scruton's return to a pre-modern experience of the sacred is decidedly incomplete, since the pre-modern experience would have been wedded to a belief in the actual existence of heroic love and fidelity, not predicated upon a belief in the value of living "as if" such devotion were possible. Scruton's Kantian defense of the salutary nature of myth reposes upon a conception of the sacred as entirely man-made. This raises the serious question, voiced in other contexts by the late British philosopher Bernard Williams, whether a conception like this is not "unstable under reflection." That is, can we give our sacred honor, indeed our very selves, to a conception of redemption that we know to be a human construct?

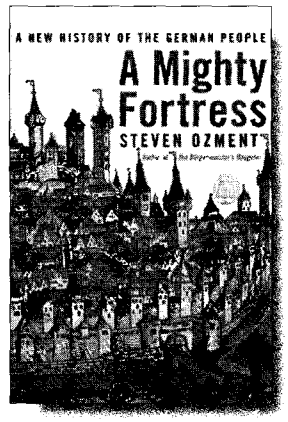
Whatever might be the weaknesses of the argument, Scruton's *Death-Devoted Heart*—in conjunction with the musical, literary, philosophical, and theological works he cites—is a timely reminder of what liberal education is about. Scruton takes the great works, including great works of music, as making decisive contributions to the way we think and feel about what is important in human life. Scruton exhibits something noble in the Wagnerian project, something that touches longings woven deeply into the human soul. **NR**

JOE SIMPSON

Joe Simpson was a man I scarcely knew.
I saw him when he came to see his father.
Our talks, if they were talks, were brief and few.
And yet I think I knew the man, or rather,
I knew something about him. From his eyes
A certain light (though uncertain to me)
Seemed to precede him through the world of lies,
Flickering shadows where he could not see
What might await, what ecstasies of pain,
What narrow passages, where only faith,
That cannot know what it is faithful to,
Can find the right path to the gates of death,
A path he followed, and did not complain,
A path that might lead nowhere, as he knew.

—ROBERT MEZEY

The German Way



A Mighty Fortress: A New History of the German People, by Steven Ozment (HarperCollins, 416 pp., $26.95)

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

GERMANS have contributed much more than their fair share to civilization but also to human misery. Gifted as so many individual Germans may have been, collectively they have provided a cautionary tale of how not to organize a society, a nation, and a state. Time and again, they have destroyed their lands and negated their achievements; time and again, some strong man has come to rescue them, only to leave worse carnage and numberless dead. Adolf Hitler, latest of the would-be rescuers, will cast his shadow over humanity for as long as memory lasts: The poet Paul Celan, himself a survivor of Hitler's mass-murdering, passed the unforgettable judgment, "death is a master from Germany." In view of this special past, it is reasonable to wonder whether Germany will ever be a normal country like any other, and how the concept of the good German is to be defined.

As befits a Harvard professor, Steven Ozment in his opening pages makes haste to attach the words "complex" and "complexity" to Germans and their history. For a full third of the book, he picks his way through the impenetrable

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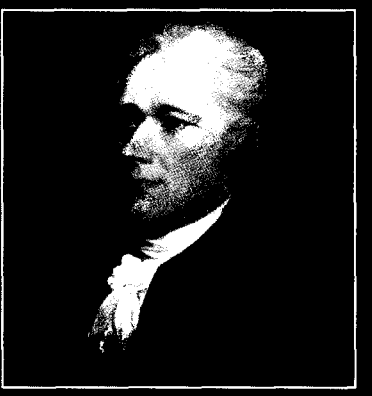
Alexander Hamilton

Award Dinner



ROBERT L. BARTLEY *(IN MEMORIAM)*
EDITOR EMERITUS, *THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.
EDITOR-AT-LARGE, *NATIONAL REVIEW*

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THURSDAY, APRIL 29TH, 2004

The Pierre, New York City

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CONTACT MOLLY HARSH AT THE MANHATTAN INSTITUTE, (212) 599-7000 EXT. 331

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SAIL WITH US ON THE NATIONAL REVIEW

2004 Bermuda Cruise

Sailing May 12–19 on the Radisson Seven Sea Cruises MS *Navigator*

FANTASTIC NEWS! NEW SPEAKERS!—RICHARD PERLE and **RADEK SIKORSKI** to join former Education Secretary **WILLIAM BENNETT,** former CIA Director **JAMES WOOLSEY,** plus *National Review* all-stars **RICH LOWRY, JOHN O'SULLIVAN, JAY NORDLINGER, RAMESH PONNURU,** and *NR* founder and Editor-at-Large **WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.**

This is your special—and last—opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise.** Featuring an incredible cast of all-star speakers, this trip will take place May 12–19, 2004, aboard **Radisson Seven Seas Cruises's** MS *Navigator*—the acclaimed ship of the world's highest rated cruise line.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet preeminent conservatives and policy-makers. "Definites" for this voyage are former Education Secretary and celebrated author **William Bennett,** former Central Intelligence Agency Director **James Woolsey,** *NR* Editor-at-Large **William F. Buckley Jr.,** and *NR* editorial heavyweights **Rich Lowry, John O'Sullivan, Jay Nordlinger,** and **Ramesh Ponnuru.** And we are *very* happy to announce that **Richard Perle**—author, strategist, and former chairman of the Defense Policy Board—as well as former *NR* "Roving Correspondent" **Radek Sikorski** (he's now running the New Atlantic Initiative, after stints as a top Polish defense and diplomatic offical) will be joining us for seven luxurious days of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.

Make that *top*-of-the-world-class cruising. For those who demand the very best, the *Navigator* is custom-made for you. But with prices starting at an incredibly *low* $2,999 a person, the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** is "custom-made" for just about anyone! Unsurpassed service, sumptuous cuisine, spacious accommodations, and luxury, luxury, luxury are the hallmarks of this acclaimed ship.

You *can't* do better than the *Navigator*, or Radisson. Says who? Says *Condé Nast Traveler*'s experienced and discriminating readership—which just voted Radisson the "World's Best Small-Ship Cruise Line!" That's remarkable, *and* a testament to the fact that the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** will be a *superior* experience. Fine crusing aside (more on that below), meeting top policy-makers and leading conservatives is *the* highlight of *NR*'s voyages, and, as with our past trips, on the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** you'll have great opportunities to spend "quality time" with them—at the six seminars we have planned (each two hours long, and featuring scintillating discussions of current events, plus your participation via lively Q&A!), or at the exclusive three cocktail receptions or two late-night smokers (featuring **H. Upmann**'s truly *superior* cigars and a complimentary cognac) that are in store, or over a gourmet dinner with our editors and speakers (our goal is to schedule you to dine intimately with our sailing dignitaries on two nights).

This will be *NR*'s second trip to **Bermuda,** and we're happy to be returning to this beautiful island. It never gets old: Sauntering through the charming cities of **Hamilton** and **St. George** (still steeped, like the customary afternoon tea, in the traditions of British colonial life) during the day, enjoying the nightlife, relaxing on the rose-blushed sands of Bermuda's gorgeous beaches—all of this and much more (such as the numerous excellent excursions Radisson will provide) awaits you. Oh yes: The *Navigator* will *also* make a lengthy visit to **Norfolk,** from which fascinating tours to Colonial Williamsburg, Jamestown, Yorktown, and other historic Virginia landmarks are available.

Fascinating too will be your sumptuous cabin—all of the *Navigator*'s staterooms provide an ocean view, nearly 90 percent feature private balconies, and none is smaller than 301 sq. ft. (at 1,173 sq. ft., the Master Suites are simply huge!). All staterooms feature European king-size beds (convertible to twins), separate sitting areas, marble baths with tub and separate shower, large walk-in closets with safe, terry robes, hair dryers, refrigerators (stocked with soft drinks), TV/VCR, in-suite bar set-up, and so much more. Oh yes: The Master, Penthouse, and Navigator suites offer Butler Service, and there are even 10 suites that can be interconnected (that's *great* for families!).

As wonderful as the cabins is Radisson's renowned and pampering "Above and Beyond" service, which takes care of every nuance or housekeeping chore so you can spend your

BEAUTIFUL BERMUDA! PHENOMENAL NORFOLK! WHAT A WEEK!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
Wed./May 12	New York City		5:00PM	
Thur./May 13	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Fri../May 14	Hamilton	8:00 AM		afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Sat./May 15	Hamilton	Overnight		afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sun./May 16	St. George	7:00AM	4:00PM	
Mon./May 17	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
Tues./May 18	Norfolk	7:00AM	5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Wed./May 19	New York City	8:00AM		

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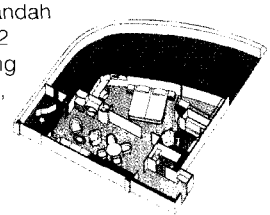
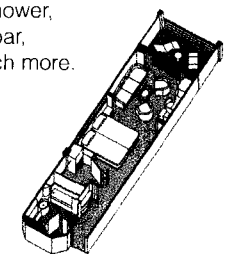
Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Navigator*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through Radisson), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Complimentary selected wine is served with dinner, and all soft drinks, hot beverages, mineral waters and juices are served on a complimentary basis. At the start of the cruise, each cabin's in-room bar set-up is stocked with complimentary premium liquor. Rates for third person in cabin: 50 percent of double occupancy rate. No fourth passenger. Air travel to/from NYC available through Radisson.

GRAND SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (539 sq. ft.) feature additional large private verandah (200 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, butler service, walk-in closets, and much more.



Category GS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 8,399 P/P

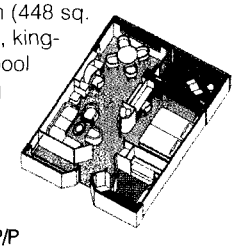
BALCONY SUITES Spacious room (301 sq. ft.) features private verandah (55 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.



Category B "Penthouse (butler service)
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,499

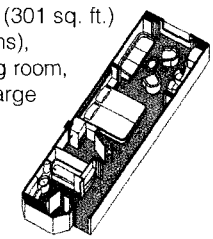
Category D (no butler service)
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,499

NAVIGATOR SUITE Grand stateroom (448 sq. ft.) features private verandah (47 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, dressing room, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, butler service, walk-in closet, floor-to-ceiling windows.



Category NS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 12,999

WINDOW SUITE Large and comfortable (301 sq. ft.) features king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, dressing room, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, walk-in closet, large ocean-view windows.



Category G
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,999

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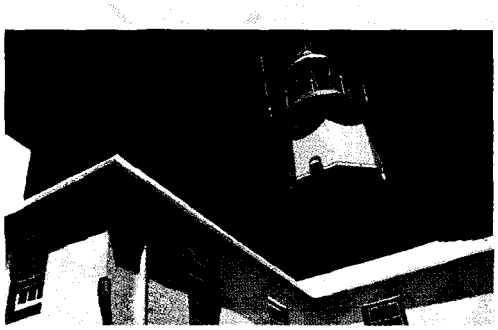
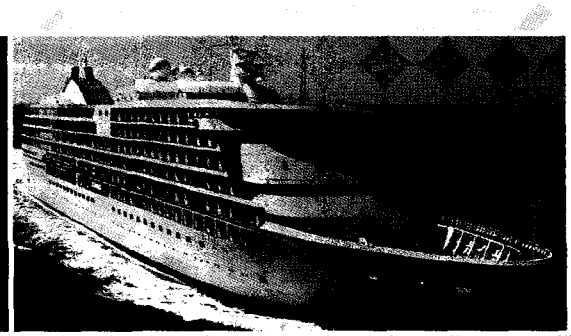
time in more pleasurable pursuits. And for those staying in selected staterooms, your butler will unpack your bags and the Pressing Service will iron out every wrinkle on every shirt. With the *Navigator*'s outstanding 1 to 1.4 crew-to-guest ratio, you're assured matchless personal service. So relax—let your butler arrange that cocktail party in your suite, schedule your dinner at the (reservations-required) Portofino Grill, get you a private car at the next port of call, and so much *more*!

A week of very fine dining will also be in store: Imagine enjoying your intimate, gourmet dinner (with a guest speaker!) at the *Navigator*'s elegant Compass Rose restaurant, or dinner-for-two with your spouse at the Portofino Grill, where sumptuous Italian cuisine is the fare. (Wherever you dine, a choice of fine, complimentary wine will be poured nightly! And soft drinks, hot beverages, juices, and mineral water are complimentary throughout the cruise!)

Aside from the fine dining, the spectacular seminars we're planning, and the numerous tours and excursions, there's so much else one can do on the *Navigator*. With one of the highest space-per-guest ratios at sea, there's *plenty* of room for many pleasurable pastimes (lounging on a deck chair!). On board you'll find a world-class spa, fitness center, and salon, duty-free boutiques, bars and lounges, a swimming pool and two whirlpools, two golf driving cages where you may practice your swing, a well-stocked library with a full-fledged computer center (so you can receive or send e-mail or browse the Internet), and a card room where a master bridge instructor is ready to teach you his art. There's "High Tea" every afternoon and other happy diversions (art auctions and ballroom dance classes), and at night, ah . . . you'll be tempted to abandon any thought of going to bed at a sensible hour. There are dazzling live performances in the Seven Seas Lounge, thrilling games of chance at the elegant casino, romantic cabaret acts, plus dancing until you tell us when.

The ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** will be a fabulous seven-day experience. Be part of it: Join **Bill Bennett** (who'll be discussing the *kulturkampf* and more), **James Woolsey** (who can give a more informed take on the war against terrorism than the former head of the CIA?!), **Richard Perle** (his observations on the Iraq war will be second to none), **Radek Sikorski** (few know more about the *real* state of U.S.–Europe relations), and *NR* editors **William F. Buckley Jr.**, **Rich Lowry**, **John O'Sullivan**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and **Ramesh Ponnuru** for a delightful week aboard the *Navigator*. Book your cabin *now*: Simply fill out and return the application on the next page, or go to **www.nationalreviewcruise-bermuda.com** and secure your stateroom there, or do the same by calling The Cruise Authority at 1-800-707-1634. The *Navigator* holds but 490 passengers, and few cabins remain available! Don't let yourself get shut out of what will be a true once-in-a-lifetime experience. Don't miss the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise**.





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The National Review 2004 Bermuda Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Name #1 (full legal + informal name) Birthdate Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal + informal name) Birthdate Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #3 (full legal + informal name) Birthdate Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

email address

Payment

A deposit of $1,000 per cabin is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to *same* card on 2/12/04 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 2/12/04, the full amount of cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis.

☐ My deposit of $1,000 per stateroom is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to February 12, 200*	*$750 per person*
AFTER *August 8, 2003*	*100% of cruise/package*

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ 2 Twins ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from New York City.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from New York area airports (LGA/JFK/EWR).

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in New York.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Seven Seas Navigator*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of *National Review* (NR), as agency for Radisson Seven Seas Cruises (RSSC), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, acts of terrorism, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by RCCS and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of RSSC and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, acts of terrorism, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor NR shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Simplify your air travel arrangements with Radisson Seven Seas Cruise's "Fly Cruise" Program. The following per-person rates are for Coach and FirstClass (space-available basis) travel to and from the listed home city air gateways. These rates include round-trip transfers.

	CITY	COACH	FIRST
AL	Birmingham	539	2,200
AR	Little Rock	539	2,200
AZ	Phoenix	779	2,600
	Tucson	779	2,600
CA	Los Angeles	779	2,600
	Palm Springs	779	2,600
	Sacramento	779	2,600
	San Diego	779	2,600
	San Francisco	779	2,600
CO	Denver	779	2,600
CT	Hartford	359	800
DC	Washington	359	800
FL	Ft. Lauderdale	429	1,600
	Ft. Myers	429	1,600
	Jacksonville	429	1,600
	Miami	429	1,600
	Orlando	429	1,600
FL	Tampa	429	1,600
	Palm Beach	429	1,600
GA	Atlanta	429	1,600
	Savannah	429	1,600
HI	Honolulu	799	1,600
ID	Boise	799	2,600
IL	Chicago	459	1,600
IN	Indianapolis	459	1,600
IA	Cedar Rapids	459	1,600
	Des Moines	459	1,600
KS	Wichita	539	2,200
KY	Louisville	459	1,600
LA	New Orleans	539	2,200
	Shreveport	539	2,200
ME	Portland	359	800
MD	Baltimore	359	800
MA	Boston	359	800
MI	Detroit	459	1,600
	Grand Rapids	459	1,600
MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	459	1,600
MS	Jackson	539	2,200
MO	Kansas City	539	2,200
	St. Louis	459	1,600
MT	Great Falls	799	2,600
NE	Omaha	459	1,600
NV	Las Vegas	799	2,600
	Reno	799	2,600
NM	Albuquerque	799	2,600
NY	Albany	359	800
	Buffalo	359	800
	Rochester	359	800
	Syracuse	359	800
NC	Charlotte	429	1,600
	Greensboro	429	1,600
NC	Raleigh/Durham	429	1,600
ND	Fargo	799	2,600
OK	Oklahoma City	539	2,200
	Tulsa	539	2,200
OH	Cincinnati	459	1,600
	Cleveland	459	1,600
	Columbus	459	1,600
OR	Portland	799	2,600
PA	Philadelphia	359	800
	Pittsburgh	359	800
RI	Providence	359	800
SC	Charleston	429	1,600
TX	Austin	539	2,200
	Dallas/Ft. Worth	539	2,200
	El Paso	539	2,200
	Houston	539	2,200
	San Antonio	539	2,200
TN	Knoxville	539	2,200
	Memphis	539	2,200
	Nashville	539	2,200
UT	Salt Lake City	779	2,600
VA	Norfolk	359	800
	Richmond	359	800
WA	Seattle	799	2,600
WI	Milwaukee	459	1,600
	CANADA ($USD)		
	Calgary	799	2,600
	Edmonton	799	2,600
	Montreal	359	800
	Ottawa	359	800
	Toronto	359	800
	Vancouver	799	2,600

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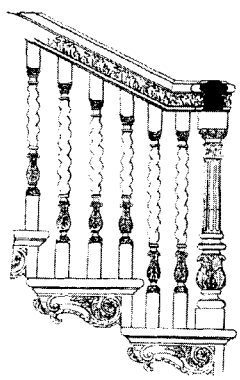
thickets of the Dark Ages, when Germanic tribes encountered and mastered Rome, eventually evolving their own Holy Roman Empire under Charlemagne and his successors. It was not their fault, we are to believe, that nation-building eluded them. Down the centuries into medieval times, the expanding ambitions of the Italians and the French trapped German rulers into defending themselves at the expense of domestic peace and unity. Martin Luther was the first strong man to come to the rescue. A genuine intellectual, he was nonetheless possessed by phobias, especially about Jews. His reform of German Catholicism was beneficial but also laid the basis for future religious and ideological strife, including the horrors of the Thirty Years War.



England and France by then were succeeding in forming unitary nation-states. In contrast, Germany remained a chaotic agglomeration of duchies and petty states, subordinate in the German-speaking sphere to Austria-Hungary. Frederick the Great was not quite enough of a strong man to assure the supremacy among all German speakers of Prussia. Next came Napoleon, who exploited the weakness of Germans so cruelly that they had no choice except to emulate French nationalism and aggression. Prince Bismarck, greatest of the strong men, founded modern Germany by means of forcing war successfully on both Austria-Hungary and France. By then it was too late in the day for the emergence of a German nation-state like any other; parliamentary democracy had no chance to put down roots.

Ozment's argument, then, is that the Germans admittedly messed up Europe disastrously for a long time, but other people—"the predatory foreigner," in his words—should carry the blame for this as much as the Germans do. The German character does not show signs of "a progressive genetic disease." German history in his view shouldn't be seen in blacks and whites, but in all sorts of recurrent dualisms that swing Germans extravagantly between contradictions quite outside moral judgments. In the German experience, then, war has an aspect of construction, and tyranny is preferable to anarchy; a love of freedom coexists with a need for order; a record of civility alternates with inhumanity, and aggression with penitence; the typical German embodies the highest and the lowest in human nature. Winston Churchill observed more simply that the Hun is either at your feet or at your throat.

Much of what Ozment says is thoughtful, though his style sometimes makes for ambiguity or, worse, academic cuteness. But is this apologia true? Are Germans really victims rather than victimizers, and would they all have been Beethovens and Kants if only others had let them? To make his case, he omits evidence that doesn't suit. No mention of the Teutonic orders of knights whose attempts at colonizing eastern Europe survived as factors in the two world wars. No mention of the persecutions that drove Jews to flee to Poland. No mention of the burning of witches. One 15th-century paranoiac by the name of Jacob Sprenger was alone responsible for burning 500 witches in just one year. No mention of the genocide that pre-1914 Germany was practicing in its African colonies.

Are Germans really victims, and would they all have been Beethovens and Kants if only others had let them? To make his case, Ozment omits evidence that doesn't suit.

Which brings us to Hitler, easily the most destructive of the strong men presenting themselves as rescuers. Of course Ozment accepts that Hitler was a criminal through and through. True to form, though, he attributes Hitler's rise to power not to the Germans who voted him in, but to the Allies whose inept policies after the First War had given them justified grievances. He might have strengthened his case that others are to blame for what Germans do by mentioning the ideological stupidity of Stalin and the Communists who wrote off Hitler's Social Democrat opponents as "social fascists." But if Hitler satisfied these grievances by uniting all German speakers into a Third Reich, what is then the explanation of the enthusiastic approval of so many millions of Germans for a program of expansion through war and mass murder? What sort of a dualism is it that persuaded Germans that they could live fully only through the annihilation of others? Germans themselves built and ran Hitler's police state in what was evidently the moral collapse of almost the whole population. Mitigating Germans' responsibility for the fate of their country and themselves, Ozment makes Hitler and Nazism out to be some sort of accident, or aberration.

After Hitler's overthrow, Germany was divided into two very different halves. Controlling East Germany, the Soviet Union was a prime example of the "predatory foreigner" whom Ozment hitherto claimed had been the ruin of the country. Ulbricht, Honecker, and the local Communist nomenklatura ran a racket on behalf of Moscow, plundering the economy and creating a fictional culture. Mitigating all that, Ozment writes that collectivization, nationalization, and political conformity "both marshaled and repressed" East Germany. Such a conflation of incompatibles is a stylistic trick to let Communism off the hook.

In conclusion, Ozment takes swipes at the United States as "a riven land of haves and have-nots" that has apparently forgotten how to discipline freedom, and whose economic model has been "something of a bogeyman" for Germans—only a degree better, presumably, than being a predatory foreigner. Reunification of the two Germanys may have been a bit abrasive for some, but the past is over and done with, and for the future the country is the reliable leader of the European Union, problems are all soluble, and the good Germans have at last come into their own. Few will take Ozment's say-so as the last word. **NR**

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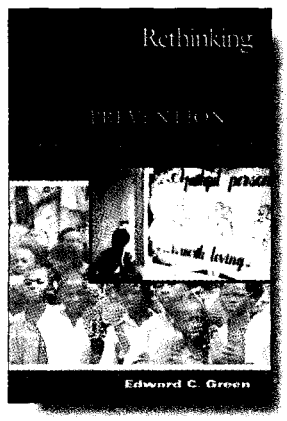
Saving Life



Rethinking AIDS Prevention: Learning from Successes in Developing Countries, by Edward C. Green (Praeger, 392 pp., $39.95)

DOUGLAS A. SYLVA

Last June, the official in charge of UNICEF's eastern and southern African operations declared that, in the name of AIDS prevention, condoms should be made available "for everybody, everywhere and at all times." "Let us stop the almost metaphysical debate on the pros and cons of the use of condoms," he continued, because "the use of condoms . . . has been a part of all known successes to reduce HIV infections." Such is the philosophy of the international AIDS-prevention establishment: Only condoms can save the world from AIDS, so international funds should ensure that the people of the developing world are ever more securely swathed in latex.

There are, however, no condom "successes" in Africa. Something like 700 million condoms are shipped to the continent, year in and year out, courtesy of the U.N., the U.S., and the EU, yet infection rates remain stubbornly high. The UNICEF official approvingly cites Botswana's commitment to condoms—"Let us follow the decision of the government of Botswana"—but about 35 percent of that country's population is infected. That's the example the rest of the world should follow?

Whenever someone, usually an obscure African churchman, dares to raise such uncomfortable questions, the full might of the AIDS establishment comes down to smite him, and he is condemned as a religious zealot. Finally, though, there is a challenger to condom dominance who cannot be so easily dismissed. He is a distinguished public-health official, a paragon, in fact, of establishment credentials: Edward C. Green, senior research scientist at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies. Green has had an epiphany of common sense and now has the courage to criticize the role of his colleagues as prophylactic missionaries to the Third World. In his important new book, *Rethinking AIDS Prevention*, he exposes the failure of the condom approach, and explains why AIDS experts cling to this failure.

What happened is that Green's colleagues inherited the ideology of the homosexual revolution of the 1980s. Green matter-of-factly states that "gay Westerners" tend to be "sexually hedonistic," that "some in the gay community believe in an 'anything goes' sexual expression that takes as a given that sexuality should be expressed and enjoyed to the utmost, and there be little or no worry about consequences." AIDS prevention was developed for gays, and in many cases by gays; thus, anything that challenged the sexual hedonism of homosexual identity would be out of bounds.

Green quotes at length from one American AIDS expert's web-posted paean to promiscuity: "Unlike gibbons and some other mammals, humans are not naturally monogamous. Some major religions make polypartnering (having sex with several partners) a sin in order to promote monogamy. However, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with polypartnering. Indeed, polypartnering allows participants to enjoy a greater variety of sexual behaviors, with a greater number of persons, to enhance their lovemaking skills." Monogamy, on the other hand, is as dreadful as if "religions were to dictate that it was morally wrong for people to eat out at different restaurants, requiring its adherents to stick to one restaurant for their entire lives; or to stick to one movie—seeing the same film over and over again."

Obviously, such people have a personal interest in ensuring that the basic lesson of the AIDS epidemic—promiscuous sex cannot be made consequence-free—never gets learned. As our "polypartnering" devotee makes clear, "we should not use the HIV/AIDS crisis as an excuse to revert back" to the bad old days of monogamy. And thus enters the lowly condom; it allows proponents of the sexual revolution to trumpet as "safe" risky sexual behavior.

AIDS experts will go to great lengths in order to protect condoms from scrutiny. According to Green, his colleagues have hidden evidence that the HIV virus may be smaller than, and therefore may pass through, the pores in latex condoms. And AIDS experts have denied evidence that traditional sexual morality works—that, where it has been promoted in place of condoms, most notably in Uganda, AIDS has been brought under control. Since risky sex causes AIDS, a significant number of Africans have simply stopped having risky sex. And when governments have encouraged them to do so, to abstain from sex or to be faithful to their spouses, this behavior change has been all the more dramatic.

But Green's colleagues are not interested, are even hostile, to such news. At the 2002 International AIDS Conference, writes Green, "high-ranking officials from major donor organizations were heard to opine that any such ideas were part of a plot from the religious right. Furthermore, they were heard to say, public health would never yield to right-wing or religious pressure (even if millions of lives could thereby be saved)." Green continues: "But what about Africans and others who believed that condoms were 100 percent effective, used them as directed, and then became infected? This is an ethical issue, a serious human-rights issue. The case could be made that health officials from rich countries have withheld information that would allow people in the poor countries to make an informed choice, a choice that has life or death consequences."

Green makes the reasonable request that African public-health measures should be designed with the best inter-

Mr. Sylva is vice president of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute.

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New Alamo Film Promotes PC History

The Fordham Foundation report, Lynne Cheney's op-ed piece in the Wall Street Journal on *The National History Standards*, and the Albert Shanker Institute Report, all correctly concluded that today's U.S. history textbooks overemphasize America's flaws and failures and omit many of America's strengths, successes, and heroes. They also concluded that the history textbooks today are anti-Western Civilization and pro-Third World. This is all done in the euphemistic name of "diversity," "multiculturalism," or "political correctness". This is why so many of our young people are disillusioned with and bored by the study of history. True religious, political, scientific, and military history has been suppressed and replaced by a censored politically correct "social studies".

For example, *The National History Standards*, put forth by politically correct professors at UCLA, omitted the Wright Brothers, Thomas Edison, and Alexander Graham Bell, because the professors thought there were too many "dead white male" inventors in the traditional U.S. history textbooks and more room needed to be made for "diversity." The Wright Brothers were taken out, and Mansa Musa was put in their place. No mention was made of the invention of the airplane. Following that precedent, a current text for high school students, *A History of the United States* by Boorstin, published in 2002 by Prentice-Hall, does not mention the Wright Brothers.

Many of our "social studies" students are so bored and fed up with their textbooks that they no longer read them. They learn most of their history from one aspect of what Michael Medved calls the "popular culture," i.e. movies. Unfortunately, many of the new history movies are, like their textbook counterparts, anti-American.

For example, the new Disney Alamo film, which is scheduled to be released in April of 2004, promotes a politically correct revisionist agenda aimed at destroying traditional American heroes. According to early reviews of the script, William Barret Travis is portrayed as a "serial adulterer," James Bowie is featured as an evil "slave trader," Sam Houston is portrayed as a "bi-polar, manic depressive, alcoholic," and Davy Crockett is portrayed as a "frightened wanderer" who wanted to escape "over the wall" in the dark of night, but felt paralyzed and trapped by his own undeserved heroic reputation.

The truth is that Travis, Bowie, Crockett, and Houston are American heroes who fought against overwhelming odds in the name of what William Barret Travis referred to as "liberty, patriotism, and honor." They deserve our honor and respect, not a tabloid trashing of their reputations. If Mr. Walt Disney could treat the Alamo defenders with respect in 1955, and Mr. John Wayne could treat them with respect in 1960, why can't Mr. Michael Eisner treat them with respect in 2004?

Positive heroes like Travis, Bowie, and Crockett should be held up to inspire our young people. But Leftists in academia and in the media want to destroy the traditional American heroes, so that they may be replaced by leftwing rock, rap, and hip hop music stars. In the 1950's children went to school wearing coonskin caps in admiration of Davy Crockett. Today children go to school dressed as gangster rappers, with their droopy drawers, and listening to music with foul language that desecrates Judeo-Christian morality. Eminem is in. Davy Crockett is out. Eisner and his allies are winning the culture war.

Heroes like the Wright Brothers, Travis, Bowie, and Crockett, must be vigorously defended by the political Right in the culture war. They represent Western culture. To defend only tax cuts and not the culture is a recipe for disaster. We, as present day citizens of Western Civilization, stand upon the shoulders of the heroes who have come before us. We must defend these heroes from politically correct revisionist attacks, or else the edifice we call our culture will collapse, and then we shall all surely fall into the darkness of the abyss.

— B. Forrest Clayton, author of *Suppressed History: Obliterating Politically Correct Orthodoxies*, which is available for $14.95 post paid from Armistead Publishing, P.O. Box 54516-E, Cincinnati, OH 45254.

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ests of Africans in mind; most especially, that the schoolchildren of Africa should not be handed a box of condoms, and subjected to a program designed for the clients of New York's gay bathhouses, but encouraged instead to delay sexual activity.

The most important audience for this book is the Bush administration, which has pledged to spend $15 billion on AIDS prevention in Africa and the Caribbean, and which is now being prodded to hand over billions of this sum to the multinational AIDS establishment so thoroughly exposed in this book. If the administration heeds Green's message, it will not assume that the experts are experts, will not assume that the basic facts they cite are facts, and will not assume their good will or even truthfulness. Africans will be better off for it. There is hope that this message will resonate: Among his other credentials, Green is also a member of the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS. **NR**

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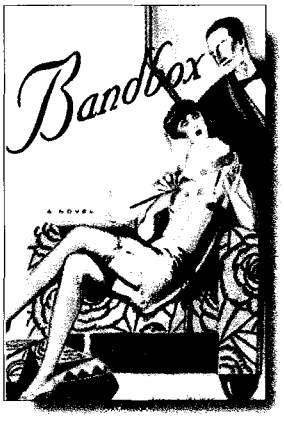

Bandbox,
by Thomas Mallon
(Pantheon, 306 pp., $24.95)

TERRY TEACHOUT

TIME travel is the pornography of eggheads. What reasonably well-read person wouldn't jump in the Wayback Machine if he could? You don't have to be a science-fiction geek to wonder what the day before yesterday looked and smelled and tasted like. Small wonder, then, that filmmakers love to turn back the clock, though they tend not to do it especially well, getting the surface spectacularly right (the best thing about Hollywood is its art directors) and the substance hopelessly wrong. For that, one must go to novelists, who don't have to stay up late worrying about how to make a city block look exactly the way it did in 1952. Instead, they can concentrate on the small stuff—the way people talked and thought—and when it comes to the past, the small stuff is the big stuff.

Thomas Mallon, an ardent novelistic time traveler, has set his Wayback Machine to 1928 for *Bandbox*, the soufflé-light tale of a popular magazine of the Roaring Twenties whose motto is "a sound mind in a sound body in a good suit." He is, as usual, perfectly sound on the small stuff. In the first 20 pages alone, he makes accurate and unostentatious reference to pneumatic tubes, six-dollar quarts of hooch, Leopold and Loeb, camel-hair coats, radio stock, Arnold Rothstein, the old *Vanity Fair*, Ruth Snyder, Christy Mathewson, and Horace Liveright. Every once in a while the mask slips a quarter-inch or so (I don't think the word "butch" acquired its current slang meaning until somewhat later), and Mallon doesn't lay on the period detail quite so thickly as did, say, Frederick Turner in *1929: A Novel of the Jazz Age*, but for the most part you'll rattle along quite comfortably in his hand-built Duesenberg, taking in the painted scenery and marveling at how real the props look.

Needless to say, accurate period detail alone does not a readable novel make, and Mallon has set himself a considerable challenge in writing about journalism. In the insufficiently remembered words of Harold Ross, who knew a thing or two about what it was like to put out a magazine in the Twenties, "Nobody gives a damn about a writer or his problems except another writer." The good news is that Mallon steers well away from this particular Slough of Despond, using his characters' richly varied problems as fodder for knockabout comedy. The protagonist of *Bandbox*, Jehoshaphat "Joe" Harris, is an aging editor whose once-hot book (as they say in the magazine biz) is under siege from Jimmy Gordon, a disloyal protégé who now edits a clothes-and-prose monthly of his own. Not surprisingly, *Bandbox* turns out to be staffed by a gaggle of loonies who can barely manage to get up in the morning, much less make their deadlines, and the fight to the finish between *Bandbox* and *Cutaway* ends up being fought not with pistols for two but cream pies and pratfalls.

To disclose the details would be to diminish the delight, so I'll keep them to myself, save to say that Calvin Coolidge has a very funny walk-on and that the forces of journalistic good (so to speak) triumph in the end. Nor do I care to ape today's let-it-all-hang-out movie trailers by previewing Mallon's sharpest punch lines, since half the fun of *Bandbox*, if not more, is to be found in the dryly

Mr. Teachout, the drama critic of the *Wall Street Journal* and the music critic of *Commentary*, is the author of *The Skeptic: A Life of H. L. Mencken* and *A Terry Teachout Reader* (forthcoming from Yale University Press).

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amused way that the author tells his inconsequential tale. (Okay, here's a taste. Did you hear the one about the article so full of similes that the editor "was moved to ask whether it was a story or a reversible raincoat"?) Besides, that's the easy part. Any competent writer with a sense of humor and access to an adequately stocked library could write a halfway-decent farce about life in the Jazz Age. Instead, Thomas Mallon has done something subtler, asking a question that could only have occurred to a perceptive novelist: What might it have felt like to be *middle-aged* in the Twenties?

Poor Joe Harris, for instance, is all too clearly clinging to the fast-changing zeitgeist by the skin of his fingernails:

> Harris sighed, recalling the days of his youth, the long-ago eighties and nineties, an era before big trenchermen had ever heard of exercise and before bosoms had deflated to the pitiful boyish protuberances on modern girls like Hazel Snow. He closed his eyes and, for a few seconds, took himself back to summer nights alive with the tootlings of oompah bands instead of the discordant, mystifying notes of jazz; to the orating politician's thrilling cry for free silver instead of Everyman's current pursuit of ubiquitous easy money.

Mallon knows that nostalgia is exactly what it used to be.

Nor is he the only character to feel time flying. Daisy DiDonna, for instance, is a fortysomething temptress well on the way to her sell-by date:

> She sighed, remembering her own first job, typing away inside the Flatiron Building in 1903, the year it opened. Outside at lunchtime, on the sidewalks, men would come from blocks around to gawk at the girls, when the downdrafts created by the building's peculiar shape blew their long skirts up over their thighs. . . . It had been Daisy's misfortune to waste her own legs' best days in the era of ankle-length dresses. Now, when her stems lacked the supreme tautness they'd once had, skirts had risen right to the knees. She needed the next gust of wind to send her somebody truly well-heeled—and to blow her eyes shut against whatever farm-fresh boy she could see over his shoulder.

Put *that* in a movie.

Perhaps not surprisingly, passages such as these put me in mind of H. L. Mencken, the shiv-waving scourge of the Jazz Age, in private life a jazz-hating Victorian whose best book, *Happy Days*, was a blissful memoir of his Baltimore youth. Who would have thought it? Thomas Mallon, I suspect. The old quip notwithstanding, he knows that nostalgia is *exactly* what it used to be, and that knowledge is what gives this well-whipped meringue its peculiar sweetness. Profound it isn't, but if you want to be diverted by a smart writer who knows what it means to be serious, you won't do much better than *Bandbox*. **NR**

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■ MUSIC ■

Farewell, Fat Man

JAY NORDLINGER

He was our Caruso, and now he's gone—or almost gone. In the first half of March, Luciano Pavarotti bade farewell to the Metropolitan Opera with three appearances in *Tosca*. He is scheduled to retire altogether sometime in 2005—on his 70th birthday, he has said, which will be in October of that year. Many people claim that he should have bowed out long before, but it was hard for him to go, and, frankly, it was hard for the public to let him go. Pavarotti was a performer. He was also a superb—a historically superb—tenor and musician.

His story is familiar to anyone who has poked around opera. Born in Modena, Italy. His father a baker, his mother a worker in a tobacco factory. Luciano shared a wet nurse with Mirella Freni (the famed soprano)—that is one of the great trivial facts in opera.

The baker father also happened to be a singer—an amateur one, and by all accounts a gifted one—and he passed this enthusiasm to his son. The son learned, quickly, under excellent teachers. He boasted one of the most extraordinary voices of the century: It was essentially a lyric voice—a bel canto voice—but it had power that came out of nowhere. He was both graceful and strong, a hart and a lion. His technique was astoundingly secure and capable. He was a master of Italian declamation, one of the last such exemplars around.

And his personality? Big and sunny and rich and happy as Italy (pardon the sentimentality).

He became a key part of the bel canto revival around the world, joining Joan Sutherland, her husband Richard Bonynge, and Marilyn Horne. For his feats in Donizetti's *Fille du Régiment*, he was dubbed "King of the High C's," a label that stuck. The king sold a lot of records. His company, Decca, is describing him as "the most beloved opera star in the history of the recording industry." They are not to be argued with.

Pavarotti was occasionally dismissed as a simpleton with a freak instrument. This was absurd. Pavarotti was a marvelous musician, though not a schooled one. He was a natural. Anyone can acquire the schooling; musicality is not for sale. It has always been said—whispered, snorted—that Pavarotti can't read music. I, for one, was always skeptical of this claim. First of all, millions of schoolchildren around the world can read music—it's no big deal. Second, how could Pavarotti function, in his career, without reading music? It's on the order of functioning in the literary world without being able to read words.

Not long ago, I had a chance to speak to someone close to Pavarotti, a colleague (who adores him). "Would you put a myth to rest for me?" I asked. "What about this ridiculous notion that Pavarotti can't read music?" "He can't," replied my source. "He really can't"—which, of course, makes Pavarotti's achievement all the more remarkable. He has a phenomenal memory, a phenomenal ability to absorb, repeat, intuit.

Over the years, Pavarotti became a celebrity, one of the most famous musicians in the world (classical division). He was the big smiley guy with the big handkerchief and the big voice (the big, lyrical voice). Some of us affectionately called him The Fat Man. Taking a page from opera stars past, he appeared in a movie, *Yes, Giorgio*, forgettable but not without charm. He lost some goodwill when he divorced his wife of almost 40 years to marry his assistant—but the world doesn't care much about that kind of thing anymore, if it ever did.

Sometime in the 1980s—different people would pick different dates—Pavarotti began a decline, vocally (and physically, too: They are of course related). I recall a distinguished critic telling me in 1985, I believe, that "they should put that cow out to pasture." As you know, he sang for 20 more years, and he often sang well—splendidly well. He loved a crowd, and not just an opera-house crowd: He pioneered "stadium concerts," schlocky events featuring pastiches of arias and songs. Infamously, he was caught lip-synching at one such event. It was the most unforgivable thing The Fat Man ever did, professionally. It was an utter violation, impermissible in the classical world. He pleaded that he could not sing that day but didn't want to disappoint his fans. Whatever.

I myself attended one stadium-style concert, when out-of-town friends asked

JASON SZENES/EPA

La commedia è finita

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me to take them. The year was 1995; the venue was a sports arena outside Washington, D.C. The event was a horror, of course, with Pavarotti crooning and barking and cracking, all into a microphone, with a lousy pickup orchestra. But there were moments when he was his pure vocal, operatic, and musical self, and you forgot the jumbo video screens, and the championship banners hanging from the rafters, and the stickiness of spilled Coke under your feet: You might have been in a box at La Fenice. A talent and a mind—a musical mind—like Pavarotti's will out. It will out even when covered in goop.

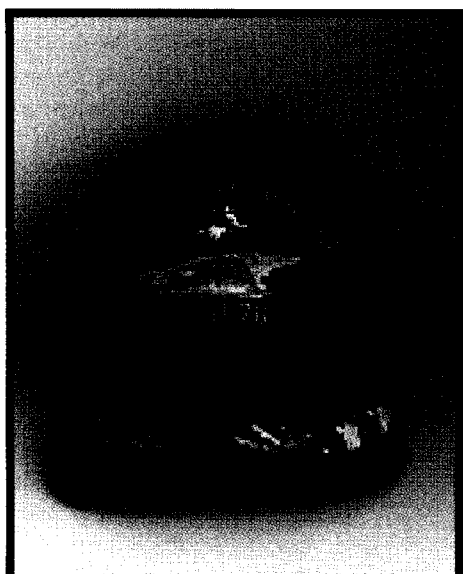
His great rival, of course, was Plácido Domingo, the suave Spaniard. But the rivalry was mainly in Plácido's mind, and in the minds of the fans. The Fat Man never paid Domingo much heed. I asked someone important in Pavarotti's career—another source—why Domingo wasn't a spur to Pavarotti, why Luciano didn't take better care of himself, just to keep up with Plácido. The source answered, "You don't understand: Plácido has always cared about Luciano; but Luciano has never given a damn about Plácido or anyone else. As far as Luciano is concerned, he has no rivals." Besides, Pavarotti "is the laziest son-of-a-bitch God ever made."

He was supposed to have his swan song at the Met two seasons ago (this was *Tosca* as well). But he canceled, pleading the flu. This caused some upset, although a singer's life is precarious, and when you're sick, you're sick—even if the gig is monumental. But, for some weird reason, Pavarotti wouldn't even come to the house to explain, apologize, and wave. As a major agent in New York put it, "all he had to do was show up and croak out 'I can't sing,' and the people would have gone mad in adoration." Joseph Volpe, general manager of the Met, said to Pavarotti, over the phone, "That's a helluva way to end a beautiful career"—and he related this conversation to the Met audience. But Volpe gave The Fat Man one more chance, in the form of the three *Toscas* this March.

On the first night, he was weak, vocally and physically. He did some Pavarotti-like singing, but not much of it. In body, he was quite infirm, sitting whenever he could, and hanging on to his colleagues—literally hanging on—when he had to stand.

But on the last night, he was much better, certainly vocally. He delivered a brave performance, and a dignified one. He went out with his head high, not as a clownish figure who had stayed too long, but as the historic tenor he is: *primo tenore assoluto*. The final ovation was emotional and long. Pavarotti smiled as big as he could, and waved as big as he could. Has anyone ever loved the audience more? Has the audience ever loved anyone more?

Look: After the hype fades, the recordings will remain, and they will tell the tale. Beverly Sills once said (and I paraphrase), "When they ask what all the fuss was about, I can trot out the records and say, 'Here: This is what all the fuss was about.'" So it will be with The Fat Man. Caruso made his first record in 1902, and we are still talking about him, more than 100 years later. They will talk about Pavarotti 100 years from now. Maybe 500. **NR**



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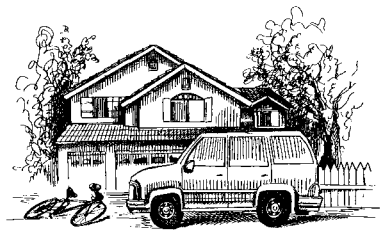

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

My daughter needs braces, I am due for a check-up, and my wife has lost a crown. (Singing Bishop Heber's fine hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy," I have often reflected on the pleasure dentists must feel at the line, "Casting down their golden crowns around the glassy sea.") With all these dental events coming at me simultaneously, my head is, as it were, full of teeth.

I am happy for my girl, at least. One of the undoubted advances civilization has made these past 30 years has been in the widespread availability of orthodontic treatment. My younger colleagues—even the English ones!—all have splendid dentition. Though glad for them, I am a little envious, as my own teeth are in a sorry state. A child of the postwar provincial English working class, I never even heard of orthodontistry until it was far too late, and was raised with dental role models like the late Queen Mother, who always appeared in newspaper photographs smiling, but really should have known better.

At least I still have my own teeth, or most of them. In my parents' generation it was a common thing to have no teeth at all by age 30. My father had none for as far back as I remember. "Teeth are just a nuisance," I remember adults saying. "You're better off without them." Dentally speaking, history is a catalog of horrors.

There are a few exceptions: Sir Isaac Newton died at age 84 with all his teeth intact. For most of humanity, though, teeth were either rotten or altogether absent. Nor was dental caries any respecter of rank: Elizabeth I had teeth that were decayed down to black stumps by middle age, as a result of her addiction to sweet raisins. Lower down the social scale things were surely worse. Shakespeare gives us a clue: " . . . The rabblement hooted and clapped their chapped hands and threw up their sweaty night-caps and uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Caesar refused the crown that it had almost choked Caesar; for he swounded and fell down at it: and for mine own part, I durst not laugh, for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air" (*Julius Caesar*, I.ii).

Indeed, once you get into the literary record, it is hard to avoid the impression that the heaviest cross mankind had to bear before the invention of fluoridated toothpaste and dental floss was not so much toothache as halitosis. This long, smelly era of human history continued until at least 1937, when George Orwell's travels among the northern English proletariat drove him to the following exasperated apothegm: "You can have an affection for a murderer or a sodomite, but you cannot have an affection for a man whose breath stinks." (Oddly, though William Ian Miller's book *The Anatomy of Disgust* gives over a whole chapter to Orwell and his acute sense of smell, this remark is not included. Miller has, in fact, almost nothing to say about halitosis at all, with no index entries between "hair" and "hatred." Perhaps some things are too disgusting even for an anatomist of disgust.)

Dentists themselves make a poor showing in literature. Günter Grass wrote a novel about a man having left-wing political fantasies while under dental anesthesia, but I have not read it. The only literary dentist I can recall is Dr. Ivor Quilty in *Lolita*: "a white-smocked, gray-haired man, with a crew cut and the big flat cheeks of a politician." Humbert Humbert goes to him under the pretense of having decided to have his few remaining teeth removed, though his object is in fact to locate Quilty's nephew, whom Humbert plans to murder. Humbert was born in 1910; his visit to Dr. Quilty takes place in 1952, so apparently it was not then remarkable for a person to walk out of an American dentist's office at age 42 sans teeth.

Not long after the time when Humbert Humbert was duping poor Dr. Quilty, I was undergoing the ministrations of my own first dentist, a Polish gentleman named Dr. Koplowicz, who practiced in my home town in the 1950s. Probably he was a good husband and father, and kind to small animals, but I recall him as an irascible ogre whom one could never please, no matter how wide one opened one's mouth, how stoically one endured his probings, or how promptly one obeyed his curt order: "Please to *reents* now." He was the custodian of a satanic contraption that still towers over me in nightmares, a monstrous cantilevered thing of whirring black belts and rattling pulley wheels that would not have been out of place in one of Piranesi's *Carceri d'Invenzione*. Dr. Koplowicz knew of only one form of anesthetic, the general, and it was while in a stupor thus induced that I revenged myself on him and his chair, though unintentionally, having omitted to empty my bladder before entering the torture chamber. I can still recall my anesthetic dream from that occasion: Walt Disney's Seven Dwarfs (I suppose I must have just seen the movie), in bright primary colors, gamboling silently against a background of perfect blackness infinitely deep.

My daughter will know nothing of all this. Even should she suffer the misfortune of having teeth knocked out in an accident, I see that a researcher in England has succeeded in growing human teeth in (for reasons I do not completely understand) mouse kidneys, and has high hopes of transferring his techniques to the actual human gum. One day our descendants will build statues to this man, and to those others who have liberated us from the dental horrors of the ages. If you get a conversation going about past times, and raise the question whether life was better then or now, it is never very long before someone brings the talk round to teeth. "I wouldn't mind living in [historical epoch under discussion], but for the state of dentistry . . . ." This common instinct is surely correct. There is a case to be made for the modern world, and it starts right there behind your lips. Open wide! **NR**

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on the right

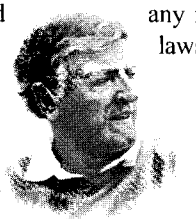
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Alternatives for Bush

GSTAAD, FEBRUARY 27

THE president said that a constitutional amendment is not to be taken lightly. He is correct, but misses the opportunity to say that an amendment is also a step towards the redistribution of power. And that in and of itself is desirable. Irving Kristol once wrote that he wished to live to see a constitutional amendment enacted whose intention was simply to remind the courts about the division of powers. I made the same point in a book published in 1973.

As things have now gone, the action of one court in one state (Massachusetts) has swamped political discussion. It had been dreamily suggested by equal rightists that marriage should extend beyond conventional relationships. This seemed preposterous and the Defense of Marriage Act was enacted in 1996. It was passed by a vote of 342 to 67 in the House, and in the Senate, 85 to 14. Meanwhile 38 states have passed congruent laws—38 being, coincidentally, three-quarters of the states, the number required to pass a constitutional amendment.



DOMA did have something of the feel of an act that says that a quadruped must have four legs. Yet even though the act seemed merely to be defending that which is obvious—that marriages are between people of opposite sexes—the question lingers whether that act would sustain constitutional review. You see, what it does is to say that the full-faith-and-credit clause of the Constitution would not here apply: No state would be required to recognize "marriages" performed in other states in contravention of marital logic. Suppose that, tomorrow, the Supreme Court held that that congressional act was supervened by the constitutional full-faith-and-credit provision and was therefore null and void? There are libertarian-conservatives in the land who enter the following reservation, namely that Bush's proposed amendment is federal in its approach, where there was an alternative means to achieve the same end. They are saying: Let the states make their own laws respecting marriage.

A means of devolving popular authority, to be exercised by the states, could be obtained by removing jurisdiction from the Court in matters having to do with marriage. Article III, Section 2 gives Congress the necessary authority to do this: "[T]he Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make."

Bush need not withdraw his proposal for an amendment. But its passage is problematical because of the creaky machinery of constitutional reformation. But Bush could get quick action on a measure to limit jurisdiction. The heavy majorities that voted in favor of DOMA tell us that congressional sentiment is strong on the subject. The law would be saying, in effect: Pending a constitutional amendment, the Court is not to rule on any matter that has to do with state laws governing marriage.

There would be critics, of course. The bellwether of unreason and extremity of expression, Ted Kennedy, would attempt to organize protest. Immediately after Bush's proposal for an amendment, Kennedy gave his view: "By endorsing the shameful effort to write discrimination back into the Constitution, President Bush has betrayed his campaign promise to be a uniter and not a divider."

It is dizzying, the senator's perspective. He sits in the upper house because the majority of the voters in Massachusetts sent him there. The majority of those voters oppose same-sex marriage. Bush's proposal would have the effect of validating the authority of the voters in Massachusetts not only when they vote on whom to send to Congress, but when they vote on institutional arrangements in the state.

Some are saying that Bush is clearly engaged in politics. Who is not, in an election year? They speak of the need to address issues. He is certainly doing that and in language elevatingly principled and impersonal. Senator Kerry, who says he opposes same-sex marriage but is against a constitutional amendment, is repeating his formula for having it both ways, as in: personally opposing abortion and supporting its expediting in every conceivable situation.

Yes, Bush is talking politics, which is what one is supposed to do when national issues arise.

The Impossible Reform

GSTAAD, MARCH 5

FROM all ideological quarters, people are pushing and pulling in the matter of Social Security reform. The sheer steepness of any approach to reform is vivid in memory, the most humiliating example of which was the attempt by Reagan, a few months after he took office. A proposal was whispered in the Senate, resulting not merely in defeat for the proposal, but in denunciation of its sponsor with a 96-0 vote. Although Reagan showed, in his speech to the White House Conference on Aging a few months later, that he grasped the nature of the problem brilliantly, he himself got out of the way. If the Senate is 100 percent opposed, go fish elsewhere. Which he did, but what he then agreed to in 1983 was an increase in the payroll tax and the levels at which income became taxable. The extra Social Security revenues thus collected have been raided for general government expenses ever since.

Bush is palpably sincere in his call for reforms—or rather, for thought to be given to reforms. He suffers several disadvantages. The first of course is the election. To talk about reforms for Social Security in the heat of an election campaign is to run over your political advisers in a Mack truck. Their responsibility is to win elections, not to save Social Security.

A second obstacle is his own record, at two levels. The first, for which he is directly responsible, is his vulnerability on the deficit. A president who has never used his veto power to curb ornery congressional greed has special difficulties urging reform in Social Security payments.

The second is not traceable to him directly, except as an acquiescent president who went along with his predecessors in spending Social Security revenues as if they were

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conventional tax receipts. Between 1983 and 2001 a total of $667 billion in excess Social Security revenues was spent.

Enter Alan Greenspan, who testified to a congressional committee that Social Security payments should be reshaped in closer accord with reality.

The proposal of Reagan in 1981 that was rejected by the Senate was that there should be a cut in benefits for those who put in for Social Security before reaching the age of 65. Greenspan, 23 years later, has made the same point.

The speech Reagan gave at the conference in December 1981 was exemplary in logic and eloquence, and prophetic in the matter of costs. He spoke of the difficulty of communicating with elderly people on the subject of Social Security, but acknowledged that communication between generations was always difficult.

He recalled the difficulty he had had as governor of California, back when students were suspicious of anyone over 30. He spoke of one delegation of students who had come to him. Their spokesman had said, "You can't understand your own sons and daughters. You didn't grow up in a world of instant electronic communications, of cybernetics, of men computing in seconds what it once took months and even years, of jet travel, nuclear power, and journeys into space to the Moon."

Reagan said that the Lord was with him that day, providing an apt response: "You're absolutely right. We didn't have those things when we were growing up. We invented them."

He went on to plead the need to invent a Social Security system that didn't simply run out of money. He cited longevity. "Today's young people, in many instances, don't even know the names of diseases that plagued mankind when we were young and that have been eliminated."

In a saddening citation he spoke of the mortality rate. "Today's typical 65-year old will live another 16 years, and our median national age will go up another three years in the next decade. I'm already ahead of that!" He was ahead of that then, and, 23 years later, is still alive.

There are many approaches, of course. Raising the age at which Social Security can be had is the most obvious—but remember, it was frowned upon by the Senate 96-0. Retirement funds that provide an incentive to save and a prospect of real growth are a part of the Republican view of life: encourage independent and economic activity. But the challenge is directly on the shoulders of George W. Bush.

Bloody Passion

NEW YORK, MARCH 9

THE film by Mel Gibson is moving because of its central contention, namely that an innocent man of high moral purpose was tortured and killed. It happens that the man in question, Jesus of Nazareth, is an object of worship, and that harm done unto Him, in the perspective of those (myself included) who regard Him as divine, is especially keen because it is not only inhuman, it is blasphemous.

But suppose that a similar travail had been filmed centered upon not a Nazarene carpenter who taught the duty of love for others, but an attempted regicide. In 1757 Robert-François Damiens set out to assassinate Louis XV. The failed assassin was apprehended, and the king quickly restored from his minor wound. The court resolved to make an enduring public record of what awaits attempted regicides, to which end were gathered in Paris the half-dozen most renowned torturers of Europe, who in the presence of many spectators managed to keep Damiens alive for six hours of pain before he was finally drawn and quartered. What kind of an audience could Gibson get for a depiction of the last hours of Damiens?

The film depends on the objectification of the victim as—Jesus of Nazareth; but even then, the story it tells is a gross elaboration of what the Bible yields.

Consider Matthew: "And when [Pilate] had scourged Jesus, he delivered Him to be crucified." "Then they spat on Him and took the reed and struck Him on the head." Luke: "I will therefore chastise Him and release Him"—Luke records that the soldiers "mocked" him. John: "So then Pilate took Jesus and scourged Him." "And [the soldiers] struck him with their hands."

What Gibson gave us in his *Passion* is the most prolonged human torture ever seen on the screen. It is without reason, and by no means necessarily derivative from the grand hypothesis that, after all, the Crucifixion was without reason, as Pontius Pilate kept on observing.

It isn't only the interminable scourging, which is done with endless inventories of instruments. The Bible has Christ suffering the weight of the cross as he climbs to Golgotha, but that is not enough for Gibson. He has soldiers impeding Christ every step of the way, bringing down their clubs and whips in something that cannot be understood as less than sadistic frenzy.

I write as author of a book (*Nearer, My God*) in which I included a vision of the Crucifixion by an Italian mystic, Maria Valtorta. A learned priest cautioned against taking this liberty. "Valtorta seems to have solved the Synoptic problem that's been plaguing scholars for centuries, viz., the contradictions between Matthew, Mark, and Luke. She has the good thief blessing Christ; Matthew (xxvii.44) has him reviling Him (Luke and Mark do not); she has Our Lord drinking gall mixed with vinegar (Mark xv.36 has Him drinking just vinegar). I was amused to see Joseph of Arimathea boldly traversing the line of 50 soldiers and the angry Jews in order to get near the Cross, since in Mark (xv.43) we're told he 'took courage' to go to Pilate to retrieve the body."

This kind of improvisation is headlong in *The Passion*. Still, the film cannot help moving the viewer, shaking the viewer, even as he'd be moved and shaken by seeing a recreation of the end of Damiens. The suffering of Jesus isn't intensified by inflicting the one-thousandth blow: that is the Gibson/*Braveheart* contribution to an agony which was overwhelmingly spiritual in character and perfectly and definitively caught by Bach in his *Passion of Christ According to St. Matthew*. There beauty and genius sublimate a passion which Gibson celebrates by raw bloodshed. The only serious question left in the viewer's mind is: Should God have exempted this gang from His comprehensive mercy? But that is because we are human, Christ otherwise.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

The Spanish Disposition

AMERICANS don't get Europe. On the day of the Madrid massacre, I received a ton of e-mails from U.S. readers along the lines of: "3/11 is Europe's 9/11. Even the French will be in." Friends told me, "The Europeans get it now." Doughty warriors of the blogosphere posted the Spanish flag on their home pages in solidarity with our loyal allies in the War on Terror. John Ellis, a savvy guy with a smart website, declared that "every member state of the EU understands that Madrid is Rome is Berlin is Amsterdam is Paris is London is New York."

All wrong. Within 72 hours of the carnage, Spanish voters sent a tough message to the terrorists: We apologize for catching your eye. Whether or not Madrid is Rome and Berlin and Amsterdam and Paris, it certainly isn't New York. Is it London? Hard to say. I do know that if I happen to be in the United Kingdom a week before the next election I shall take sensible safety precautions and avoid using public transit.

One reason Madrid isn't New York can be found by taking a trip to the multiplex to see the new *Starsky & Hutch* movie, based on the old Seventies cop show. Don't worry, you won't have to sit through the whole thing. You can leave after ten minutes and go to some dreary Miramax thing with Nicole Kidman valiantly spending four hours in make-up each morning to look wan and sallow. But my point is a simple one. *Starsky & Hutch* is one of a zillion Seventies retreads around these days. They're all the same: *S&H* opens with Barry Manilow, but it could as easily have been the Starland Vocal Band or the Partridge Family or the Village People. And after the song come the cheesecloth-shirt jokes and the fly-away-collar jokes, and afros and discos and Tab.

That's the difference. If you're American, the Seventies mean tank tops, *Charlie's Angels*, and Jimmy Carter. If you're Mediterranean, the Seventies mean Franco, Salazar, and the Colonels. Not so funny. In Madrid and much of the rest of Europe, the day before yesterday means dictatorship. The men and women who run Spain today grew up under Franco; they were young adults when King Juan Carlos stood firm against a coup determined to overthrow the country's new democracy. For many Spaniards, the desire to reach an accommodation with the forces of history is natural—indeed, the default mode.

Franco in Madrid, 1971

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So, three days after their fellow-citizens got blown up, they shrugged to the Islamists, "You're right. We'd rather sit this one out. Go blow up the Anglo-Saxons." "Don't mention the war," John Cleese instructed Manuel the Spanish waiter in *Fawlty Towers*. Manuel has no intention of mentioning the war, and if the British are foolish enough to keep doing so they can take it up with al-Qaeda themselves.

Just over a year ago, in one of those wretched Security Council performances before the Iraq war, the French foreign minister, Dominique de Villepin, turned to Colin Powell and offered the umpteenth variation of the familiar argument that, if we Europeans are resistant to ze idea of war, it is because we have seen so much of ze horrors of ze war. The reality is the other way round: The reason they've seen so much of the horrors of war is that they're so resistant to the idea of it—until it's too late and conflagration is all that's left.

If one had to cast the great Continental fatalistic shrug in a less jaded light, one would do it this way: The Second Republics and Third Empires, Fascists and Communists and European Unions rise and fall; they're mere political forces. The ancient buildings, the old vineyards, the big stinky unpasteurized cheese your village has made for centuries and which the wimps at that Yankee federal agency responsible for regulating all the taste out of American food won't even let into the country: This is the essence of a man's identity; the political fashions of the day come and go, but underneath you endure. By contrast, an American's sense of himself as an American is much more explicitly political—it's about First and Second Amendments, or, according to taste, a "woman's right to choose." The United States is a political project in a way that Spain—imperial, Fascist, monarchist, republican, pacifist, Euro-federalist, your-ideology-here-ist—isn't.

They're right in a way. For most Communist or Nazi foot soldiers, the label was a flag of convenience. But that's not true of the jihadi. And the tragedy for the Continent is that this time it's their core identity that's at stake. If you think that Spanish election result is a disgrace, look down the road two or three years, to the next election cycle, in France, Belgium, the Netherlands. In the U.S., psephologists speculate on the impact of Ralph Nader's 2 or 3 percent. Think about an election where 20 percent of the voters are a culturally unassimilated Muslim bloc. If Washington has a hard time getting any useful contribution to the war from Europe now, you do the math five years hence. The incompatible buddy-cop routine works in *Starsky & Hutch*, but America and Europe have stretched the formula way beyond the breaking point. It can't be put back together. **NR**

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Bad Policy, Pure and Simple

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The Department of Justice announced a few weeks ago that Oracle's takeover of PeopleSoft violates antitrust law, stating that "we believe this transaction is anti-competitive—pure and simple." Ironically, in the same week the Supreme Court, in *United States Postal Service v. Flamingo Industries,* decided that the massive United States Postal Service is exempt from all antitrust laws. Yet **anticompetitive behavior by the Postal Service is more harmful to consumers, competitors, and the overall economy than most private sector mergers**.

The Postal Service enjoys a government-enforced monopoly over the delivery of all letters. Yet it competes in a wide and increasing array of businesses in which private firms are already active, including package and express delivery; it has recently ventured into selling a variety of retail merchandise and e-commerce services (most of which are unrelated to postal services).

A major concern is that the Postal Service will use funds from monopolized delivery services, where it holds customers captive, to underprice in businesses where it faces competition. Given that the final authority to set rates rests not with its regulator, the Postal Rate Commission, but with the Postal Service itself, that fear is justified. Moreover, the best available estimates (given the Postal Service's poor accounting data) indicate that it has earned losses on many products where it faces competition. Underpricing is thus nearly a certainty.

Various other concerns have arisen about the Postal Service's competitive activities. In addition to monopoly power, it is exempt from all taxation. It can borrow from the Treasury at government-guaranteed rates. It has the power of eminent domain and is excused from SEC disclosure requirements. It is not required to pay parking tickets or registration fees on its vehicles. It is immune from antitrust laws and is not subject to Federal Trade Commission truth-in-advertising regulations, meaning that it can assert anything it wishes in ads.

All those valuable government-bestowed privileges allow the Postal Service to inefficiently and unfairly compete with private firms. **The Postal Service is able to force private firms out of business by virtue of its special privileges**, rather than through superior management acumen, better labor relations, or indeed any business-related skills. It can offer any competitive service it wishes at any time at any price without any regulatory oversight whatsoever.

This is bad policy. Consumers will be hurt because the costs of those ventures will be passed on to them through higher rates in monopolized activities and because they will face less choice after the Postal Service has forced competitors out of business. Competitors will go out of business, shrink, or not start up in the first place in the face of unfair competition from the Postal Service. Finally, state and local governments will lose tax revenue when the Postal Service forces out taxpaying businesses.

The executive and legislative branches should act. The Postal Service ought to be kept out of competitive activities entirely. Better still, it should be relieved of all government-granted privileges, including monopoly power. This situation is anticompetitive, pure and simple, and it should be changed.

—Rick Geddes

Rick Geddes is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and assistant professor in the Department of Policy Analysis and Management at Cornell University. Geddes is the editor of Competing with the Government: Anticompetitive Behavior and Public Enterprises (Hoover Press, 2004).

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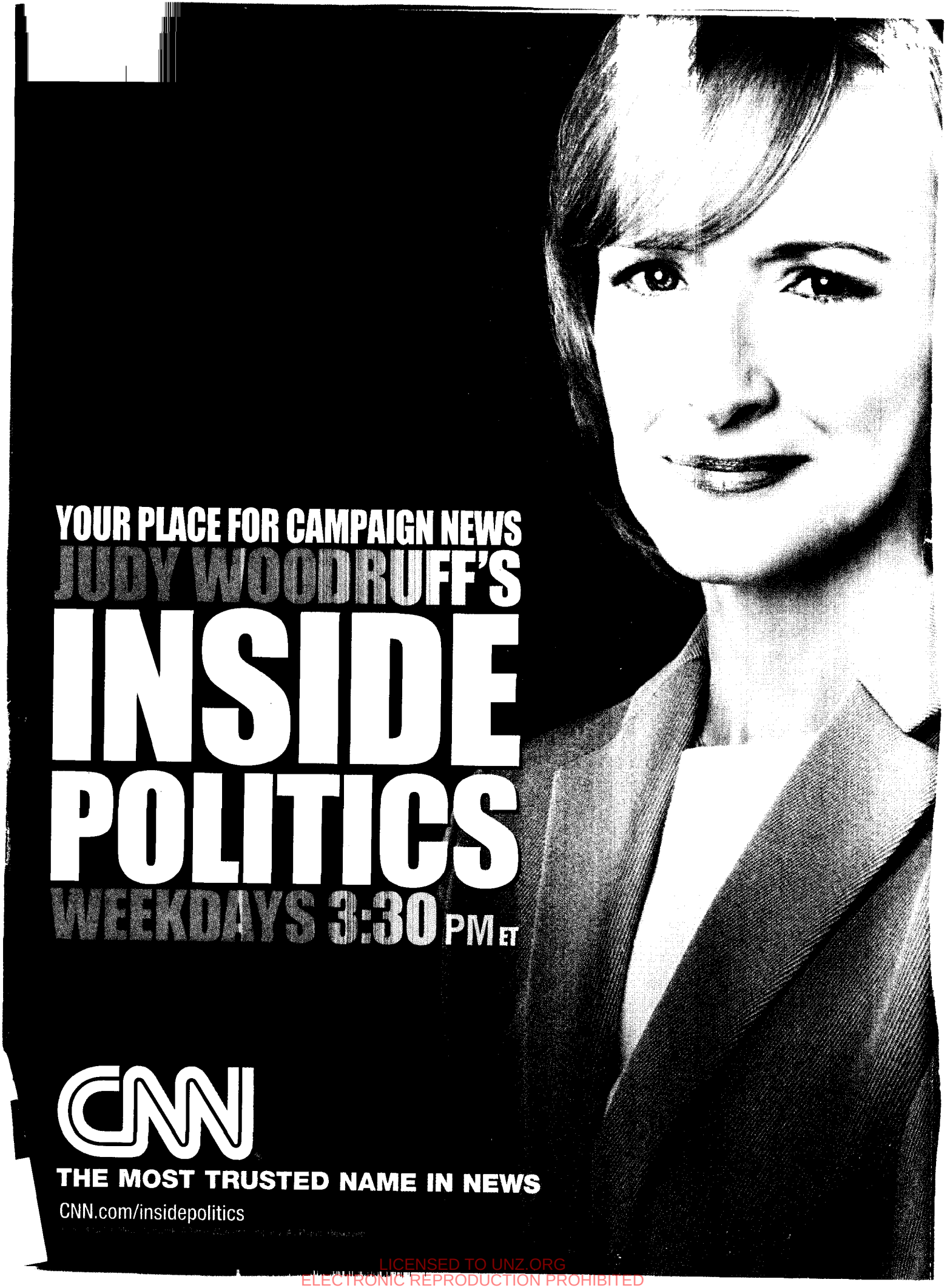

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